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ABSTRACT

The document presents 8 observational studies of interaction of the poor and the Canadian school system in an effort to gather data on inequalities in education. An ad hoc committee formed by the Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF) asked the member organizations to undertake observational studies following 1 of 2 main types of designs: (1) an observational study of 2 contrasting schools, 1 serving a poor segment of the population, 1 an affluent segment, with special emphasis on classroom interaction and (2) a shadow study of 2 students, 1 from a poor home, 1 from an affluent home, with emphasis on their school experiences. Eight member organizations of the CTF agreed to participate in the project. Of these, 4 undertook observational studies of contrasting elementary schools, 1 a shadow study in a junior high school, and 1 a case study of 2 poor families. The 2 remaining studies did not take this form but did record representative conversations with a number of students. The studies included in this volume were done between January and March of 1970. As noted, they provided fresh data on actual schools, teachers, and students in Canada. Studies were undertaken in different parts of the country, in both urban and rural settings, and by observers who differed in background and training. (EL)

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Observational Studies of Canadian Schools, Classrooms and Pupils

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FOREWORD

In the summer of 1969 the Canadian Teachers' Federation was invited to present a brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, a brief which would deal with the problems that appear in the interaction of the poor and the school system. The Federation was delighted to accept this invitation, since it has long held policies dealing with educational inequalities of various kinds. It was felt, however, that the Federation should not confine itself to the reiteration of its policies or to references to studies undertaken in past years or in other countries. CTF therefore laid upon itself the charge of obtaining fresh data on the current situation in Canadian schools.

An ad hoc committee of three members -- Miss Nora Hodgins, Secretary-Treasurer of the Ontario Teachers' Federation, Dr. Tom Parker, Executive Secretary of the Nova Scotia Teachers Union and Dr. B. T. Keeler, Executive Secretary of The Alberta Teachers' Association -- was struck to meet with CTF staff and plan an approach to the gathering of data on inequalities in education. After considering various possible approaches, the Committee decided to ask the member organizations of CTF to undertake observational studies following one of two main types of designs:

1. An observational study of two contrasting schools, one serving a poor segment of the population, one an affluent segment, with special emphasis on classroom interaction;

or

2. A shadow study of two students, one from a poor home, one from an affluent home, with emphasis on their school experiences.

Eight member organizations of CTF agreed to participate in the project. Of these eight, four undertook observational studies of contrasting elementary schools, one a shadow study in a junior high school and one a case study of two poor families. The two remaining studies did not take this form, but did record representative conversations with a number of students and are of particular interest for their stress on the problems of Canada's native people. The eight studies are included in this volume. Since the studies were all done between January and March 1970, they provide fresh data on actual schools, teachers and students in Canada. They have already been used extensively to document the CTF brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty.

While the studies were undertaken in different parts of the country, in both urban and rural settings, and by observers who differed in background and training, there yet may be found a number of themes which run through several of the studies. For example, in urban areas children of the poor are more likely to attend older schools with inadequate facilities and small playgrounds. Often, the attitudes of teachers and principals towards the poor children are subtly different. The children are different too, in their shabby clothes and intensified learning and emotional difficulties. The themes one often finds in studies of the poor are to be found in these studies also -- verbal difficulties, lack of parental involvement with the school, and a certain apathy and drabness about the school, regardless of the teachers' efforts. In effect, the schools tend to be community schools -- in the worst sense of that term.

The studies also suggest that a brighter picture may be developing. Efforts are being made to renovate or replace substandard buildings, to interest and involve parents in the education of their children, and to develop imaginative solutions to current problems. The "crisis" teacher described in the Prince Edward Island study is one example of the latter. Much more, however, is needed.

The Canadian Teachers' Federation is indebted to the late Jessie Norris, President of the Canadian Teachers' Federation in 1935-36, whose bequest made possible the publication of these studies.

Geraldine Channon
Executive Assistant
Canadian Teachers' Federation

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

John W. Chalmers

Dr. Chalmers, a professor at the University of Alberta, has been a high school teacher, a superintendent of schools, and an educational administrator with both provincial and federal government departments. He is the author of two recent books on education in Alberta, Schools of the Foothills Province (1967) and Teachers of the Foothills Province (1968).

Committee on Poverty, Manitoba Teachers' Society

The Manitoba Teachers' Society appointed a committee of three to prepare material in support of the CTF brief. Chairman of the committee was Mr. D. Bruce Sealey, Principal, Norberry School, St. Vital School Division No. 8. Mr. Sealey is a former curriculum consultant in special education with the Manitoba Department of Education and is Education Chairman of the Manitoba Metis Federation.

Other members of the committee were Dr. Sybil Shack and Mr. Dave Kroeker. Dr. Shack is a well-known lecturer and television personality and author of the book Armed with a Primer. She is a past president of the Manitoba Teachers' Society and a former director of the Canadian Teachers' Federation. She is Principal of Isaac Brock School, Winnipeg School Division No. 1. Mr. Kroeker is Vice-Principal of Aberdeen School in Winnipeg. A former counsellor and teacher in an inner city area, Mr. Kroeker has been active in inner city area councils and was one of the architects of the Higher Horizons program in Winnipeg.

K. E. Gilliss

Ken Gilliss is Deputy Executive Director of the New Brunswick Teachers' Association. A graduate of St. Thomas University and the University of New Brunswick, Mr. Gilliss taught thirteen years in the public schools of New Brunswick before joining the NBTA staff. His primary responsibilities at present are research and legislation.

Inner-City Schools Committee, British Columbia Teachers' Federation

There are thirteen members on the BCTF Inner-City Schools Committee, as follows:

Mr. W. A. Whyte, Vice-Principal, Sir Charles Tupper Secondary School, Vancouver (Chairman)

Mr. A. Blakey, Teacher, Dr. A. R. Lord Elementary School, Vancouver (Past President, Vancouver Elementary School Teachers' Association)

Mr. N. H. Brown, Principal, Britannia Secondary School, Vancouver

Mr. A. Clinton, Director of Instruction (Secondary), Vancouver School Board

Dr. S. W. Martin, Director of Instruction (Elementary), Vancouver School Board

Mr. W. H. McLaren, Principal, MacDonald Elementary School, Vancouver

Mrs. I. Midmore, Area Counsellor, Vancouver School Board

Dr. L. H. Morin, Assistant Director, Professional Development, BCTF

Mr. O. Moysiuk, Teacher, Britannia Secondary School, Vancouver

Mr. K. F. Neale, Principal, Seymour Elementary School, Vancouver

Mr. P. B. O'Brien, Vice-Principal, Britannia Secondary School, Vancouver

Mr. M. S. Wark, Principal, Strathcona Elementary School, Vancouver

Miss F. Worledge, Teacher, Florence Nightingale Elementary School, Vancouver (Vice-President, BCTF)

I. A. Lee

Miss Lee works with the Indian Centre in Toronto and is completing a doctorate at the University of Toronto, specializing in Indian Social Problems.

Wilfred B. W. Martin

Mr. Martin, holder of a Bachelor's degree in Education and a Master of Arts, is at present a graduate student in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Memorial University of Newfoundland. His report, "Disparities in Urban Schools," was prepared in consultation with Professor Robert A. Stebbins, Head of the Department of Sociology at Memorial University.

John Milner

Mr. Milner is the former supervising principal at Cranberry Portage, Manitoba. He was a graduate student in the Indian Education

Program at the University of Saskatchewan during the past year and has been very interested in the education of children who are growing up under conditions of poverty.

Pearl Muir

Mrs. Muir is assistant editor of The ATA Magazine and The ATA News. Prior to joining the Alberta Teachers' Association staff she worked on the Medicine Hat News as drama critic, reporter and editor of the women's page.

Poverty Committee, Prince Edward Island Teachers' Federation

Five members of the Federation formed the committee which prepared the report on Hi-Soc and Lo-Soc elementary schools. They were as follows:

Mrs. Helen MacIntyre, Grade 5 teacher, St. Jean Elementary School, Charlottetown, P.E.I.

Mr. Desmond Gallant, Principal, Stella Maris Regional High School, Rustico, P.E.I.

Sister Elizabeth Dunn, Principal, Rochford Square Elementary School, Charlottetown, P.E.I.

Mrs. Zita Boudreault, Grade 10 teacher, Montague Regional High School, Montague, P.E.I.

Mr. George MacDonald, Subject teacher, Col. Gray High School, Charlottetown, P.E.I.

Special mention should also be made of Miss Debi White, a Grade 11 student at Colonel Gray Senior High School, Charlottetown, who prepared part of the report.

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DISPARITIES IN URBAN SCHOOLS

Wilfred B. W. Martin

There is now sufficient evidence from a variety of sources to indicate that scholastic goals, interests, expectations and behaviours are affected by the nature of the social environment of the pupils. For instance, the area of the community in which he lives has frequently been found to be an independent variable in his behaviour. Several studies of inner-city schools in the United States have documented the debilitating effects that, despite their formal intentions, these institutions have on pupil performance (for example, Jacobi, 1960; Mayer, 1961; Riessman, 1962). Our awareness of the inequity of the matter has been sharpened by Conant's comparison of slum schools with suburban schools (1961). Becker (1952) has reported that there is variation in teacher-pupil relationships along social-class lines. He found that this variation is due to attitudes that teachers hold toward different social strata.

Preliminary observation has revealed that a state of inequality, similar to that described above, exists between inner-city and suburban schools in Canada also. The study reported here was designed to assay the nature and extent of this inequality in a large urban area in eastern Canada. Two elementary schools, "Higher Levels" and "Hillside", were selected as the setting for the research. Higher Levels is located in a relatively affluent area, while Hillside is in an economically deprived area of the city. Systematic observation was undertaken in one grade 5 classroom in each of the two schools. Specifically the investigation concentrates on: (1) the physical differences between the schools and the disparities in facilities available, (2) the attitudes of the teachers toward the children and the general atmosphere in the schools with regard to pupil behaviour and misbehaviour, (3) the differences and similarities in the interaction among the pupils and between teachers and pupils in the two classrooms chosen, and (4) the social positions of the pupils within each classroom, as seen by the pupils themselves.

Both observational and informal interviewing techniques were employed in this study. I entered each classroom as a nonparticipant observer and sat at the back of the room. The fact that I took the role of observer in the classroom meant that it was possible that my presence would influence student and teacher behaviour to a greater or lesser degree. The teachers who taught in the classrooms during my observation said that, except for the first hour or so, their behaviour was not affected by my presence. They unanimously agreed that the students' behaviour in general was only slightly modified during the first hour of observation, and that some students were not influenced at all by my presence. The informal interviews were not structured in that there were no standardized questions used in them. They were carried out in general conversation with the students and teachers in the corridors, the lunch room and anywhere the opportunity arose.

THE SCHOOLS: A DESCRIPTION

A survey of the occupations of the fathers of the children in both schools disclosed that the majority of the pupils in each school come from relatively homogeneous economic backgrounds. Thirteen per cent of the fathers represented at Hillside are unemployed while another 47 per cent are unskilled labourers (Table 1). From this table it can also be seen that 55 per cent of the children at Higher Levels are from homes where the breadwinner can be classified as either professional, semiprofessional or managerial.

Hillside School is a three-storey wooden structure. In a recent report the Assistant Superintendent of the School Board which administers both Hillside and Higher Levels has described Hillside as a "very old substandard school" which has been kept in operation because "recent building of new elementary school classrooms has been barely sufficient to keep pace with the normal increase of school population within the city." He wrote that it is "not adequate for present day educational activities . . . should have immediate priority for replacement."

There are various signs of the changes that have been made over the years in the layout of the basement and first floor of Hillside. For example, the arrangement of rooms in the basement is such that in order for the grade 1 boys to get to their classroom they must either use the girls' entrance to the school and then pass through the girls' cloakroom and washroom to get to their own cloakroom and washroom, or they must use the boys' entrance and pass through the girls' cloakroom and washroom to get to their classroom. (See Figure 1.) By looking at Figure 2 one can see the unique and obviously inconvenient features of the layout of the first floor. There are two ways to get to the staff room, through the grade 2 and grade 5 classrooms (Route 1, Figure 2) or through the grade 5 classroom (Route 2, Figure 2). This situation has the potential for creating innumerable disturbances within the classroom concerned. However, the staff has adjusted itself to the situation, and visits to and from the staff room take place, for the most part, when

Table 1. Occupations of the Fathers Represented At Each School

Occupational Category	Schools	
	Higher Levels	Hillside
Professional	27%	-
Semi-Professional	3	1%
Proprietors, Managers and Officials, Large and Small Organizations	25	8
Clerical and Sales	16	6
Skilled	10	19
Semi-skilled	14	3
Unskilled	2	47
Unemployed	-	13
Other	3	3
Total	100%	100%

In placing the occupations into the first seven categories listed here the author used the classifications given by Peter C. Pineo and John Porter in Appendix 1 "Occupational Prestige in Canada", The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 4:36-40, February 1967.

classes are not in session. Another quaint feature in physical arrangement of this floor lies in the route to the "opportunity classroom" or "kitchen", whereby one has either to go by way of the grade 2 classroom or the Principal's Office (Figure 2).

Hillside is located at the corner of Hillside and Smith Streets. Because of the limited size of the school playground (approximately 20' x 30'), the majority of the children are forced to play on the streets and sidewalks during the recess and lunch breaks. Higher Levels is a modern new school. It was opened in 1968 to serve a subdivision that had been established a few years earlier. Ample playground space is available here. The differences between the playgrounds available at the two schools result in differences in the continuity of play activities engaged in. The Hillside pupils are continuously interrupted by the traffic on the streets, whereas the pupils at Higher Levels have more freedom and seem to concentrate more on the play activities than on the happenings around them.

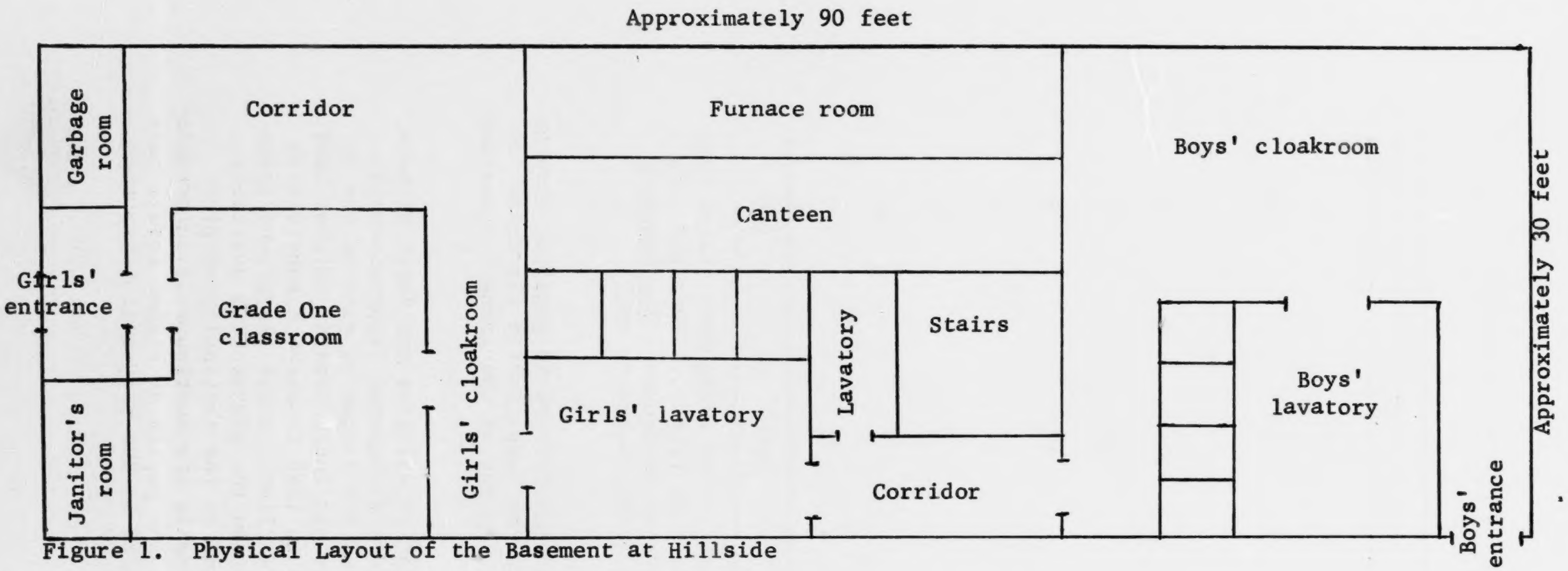

Approximately 90 feet
Approximately 30 feet
Garbage room
Corridor
Furnace room
Canteen
Boys' cloakroom
Girls' entrance
Grade One classroom
Girls' cloakroom
Lavatory
Stairs
Boys' lavatory
Janitor's room
Girls' lavatory
Corridor
Boys' entrance

Figure 1. Physical Layout of the Basement at Hillside

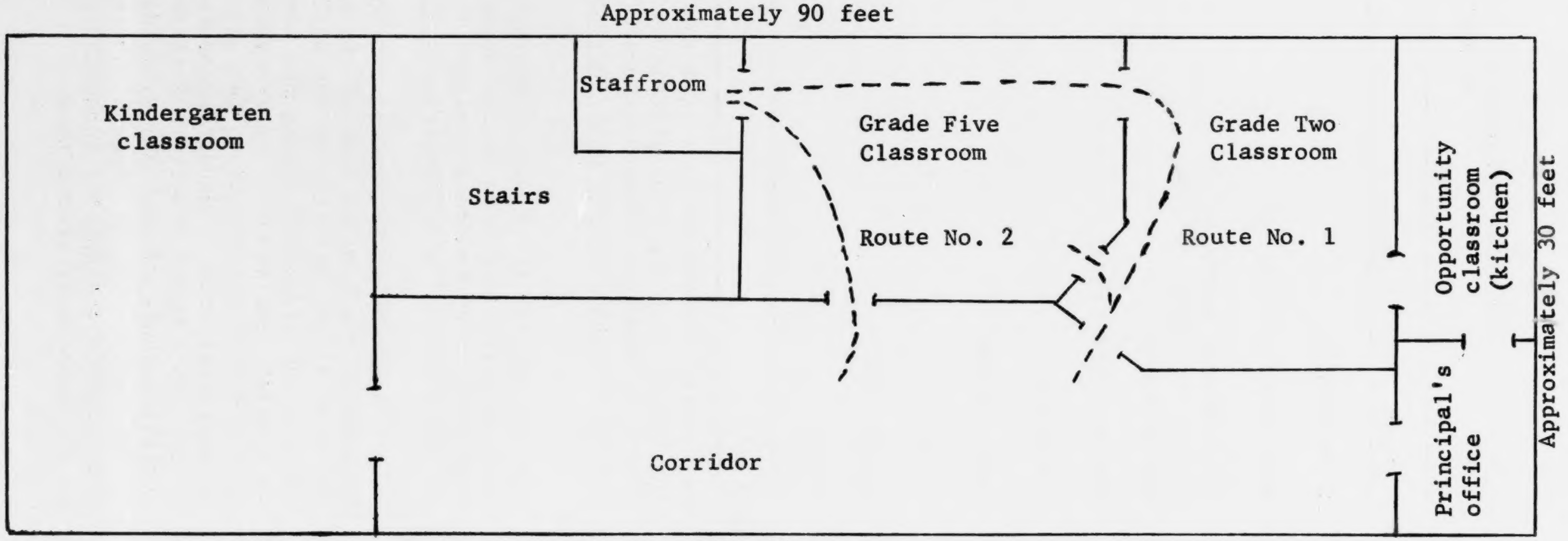

Approximately 90 feet
Approximately 30 feet
Staffroom
Kindergarten classroom
Grade Five Classroom
Grade Two Classroom
Stairs
Route No. 2
Route No. 1
Opportunity classroom (kitchen)
Principal's office
Corridor

Figure 2. Physical Layout of the First Floor at Hillside

Table 2 provides some general information about Hillside and Higher Levels. In addition to the regular and opportunity classes which are to be found at both schools, Higher Levels has the following classrooms, all of which are currently in use: an art room, a music room, a projection room (also used as a lunch room), a gymnasium-auditorium, and a library. There are not only differences in the amount and quality of facilities that are available in each school, but there are differences in the resources available with which the students are able to purchase aids for their school work. For example, one morning the teacher of a Hillside class told the pupils that in the afternoon they would be studying English and becoming acquainted with some new words. She said that if any of them had to borrow dictionaries from their brother, sister or friend in another class they had "better do so" before they came back to the classroom after lunch. It was learned from the teacher and pupils that several of them did not have dictionaries of their own, but shared one with a brother or sister in another class or borrowed one from a friend elsewhere. The reason why the teacher reminded them to get dictionaries, if they did not already have one, is that "going to other classes to borrow books is disturbing to both classes."

Table 2. Hillside and Higher Levels Compared

	Hillside	Higher Levels
Grades	K-6	K-6
Total Enrolment	233	762
Enrolment in Classes Observed	35	40
Regular Classes	7	20
Opportunity Classes	1	1
Teachers with University Degrees	1	13
Teachers without University Degrees	7	13
Total Teachers	8	26

GENERAL ATTITUDES AND INTERACTION WITHIN EACH SCHOOL

Most of the teachers at Hillside have a different feeling about the area which the school serves than they do about the children in the area. None of the teachers live in it, and for the most part, they speak of it disparagingly. However, they felt a degree of responsibility for and attachment to the children in their classes. The following remarks made by teachers at various times illustrate their different attitudes. Most of these comments were made during general conversations, and are not the results of direct questioning by the researcher. Miss Dubin said:

> This class is the best one I've had since I've been here. They are really good kids but their parents are not interested . . . . In the other places I've been at least two-thirds of the parents were interested and one-third wasn't, but here it's the opposite to that. Only about one-third is interested.

Miss Parsons remarked:

> I set homework for them but only a few will get it done. No one at home cares if they do it or not.

After waiting an hour for a parent to come to the school to talk with her about one of the pupils, Miss Olsen observed disgustedly:

> I was supposed to meet Mrs. Butt this afternoon and she didn't turn up. What can you do? She's not one bit interested in Henry's school work . . . . I suppose you got to try and do your best you know.

In commenting on her class Miss Jones said:

> I have a real good class. Some of the boys are mischievous but I like them like that . . . . It's too bad the poor children have such home lives . . . . Did you see the lunches that some of them bring to school? . . . . Bread and butter, that's all.

When questioned about the home backgrounds of their pupils, the two grade 5 teachers at Higher Levels implied that these children were from educated families. They made such comments as:

> Jules' father is a University Professor.

> Gladys came here from Africa. She speaks three different languages and is a pretty good student. Her father is at the University.
>
> Lewis is a good student. He went to school in several countries, Germany and Switzerland.

One teacher said that she saw all of the parents of her pupils. The other said, "I've seen all except two or three." When asked if they had any problems getting their pupils to do homework, one of the teachers commented:

> I have no complaints about their homework. Of course, we don't give them that much, unless it is something that some of them have to finish . . . [meaning, something which was set for the pupils to do during regular class periods but they did not get finished.]

The other teacher said:

> Some of the parents have wondered why we haven't given them more work to do at home than we have.

Timetables

The class timetables were followed rigidly only when a lesson involved other teachers coming into the classroom or the pupils going to other classrooms. The former was the procedure followed at the Hillside class for history, geography, and French, and the latter was the case at the Higher Levels class for science, French, music and physical education. In other subjects the timetables were used more as a guide. Sometimes the teacher went over the time allotted for a particular subject, and occasionally she finished before the time was up. Whether or not the time allotted for a particular subject had been exhausted, it was the teacher who decided that it was time to move on to another subject.

Measuring Progress

With only one exception the walls of both classrooms are decorated with the same type of materials. Information relating to geography, history and mathematics, as well as examples from the pupils' work in English and art, are to be found on the walls in both classrooms. The exception is the practice of posting the results of each unit examination and of each Friday's spelling test on the walls of the Hillside class. The results are presented in percentage form. In conversation with the Higher Levels teachers it was learned that they prefer not to give the pupils a percentage mark. Instead they classify each child's progress as excellent, very good, and so on. Moreover, the pupil's performance is discussed with his parents at an appointed time after the first term and periodically thereafter. Hillside is now adopting a similar policy requiring individual parents to meet the teachers of their children at a specific time to consider the child's performance and other related matters.

Methods of Control

There were no noticeable differences in the pupil behaviour in the corridors of either school or in the classroom when the classes were not in session. In both schools the prefects and teachers on duty maintain orderly behaviour. The pupils in both schools show respect for their teachers. They are mannerly in the tone of voice and expressions used in asking questions and receiving things from their teachers as well as excusing themselves when moving in front of a teacher. However, the interactions among the students do not contain these same elements of behaviour.

The philosophy behind the treatment of misbehaviour and consequently the method of punishment used by each principal is different. The principal at Hillside usually carries a strap in his pocket and he often uses it on misbehaving pupils. The conduct which the principal views as meriting his use of the strap covers a wide scope of activities. For example, Harrison and Larry got "strapped" for fighting in the basement of the school, and Keith received a strapping for talking across the classroom while the principal was teaching a science lesson. Keith was chastised because "he didn't listen to me, even after I told him to stop talking a couple of times . . . . Some of the boys need to be straightened up, and that's the only thing you can do with them."

The principal at Higher Levels has a different attitude toward the pupils who behave improperly, and consequently he has a different method of dealing with them. The strap has never been used at Higher Levels. The principal favours "a relaxed atmosphere where you ask students to do things or not to do something and give them the reasons for asking." This idea of appealing to the student's reasoning ability was brought out by the principal's request made over the public address system that students in certain areas of the school, unless they have a "good" reason for doing so, refrain from entering other areas when they arrive in the morning or during the recess and lunch breaks. He explained that their presence in various parts of the school unnecessarily creates congestion in certain areas. During another announcement the principal warned the pupils of the dangers in jumping off the low part of the school roof into the snow below. He said, "there were several of the boys doing this over recess time and I don't want any of you to do it any more." He claimed to know the boys who had done this "terrible thing" and rather than identifying them publicly he warned everyone of the dangers involved and told them that they would be dealt with if they climbed on the roof again.

CLASSROOM INTERACTIONS

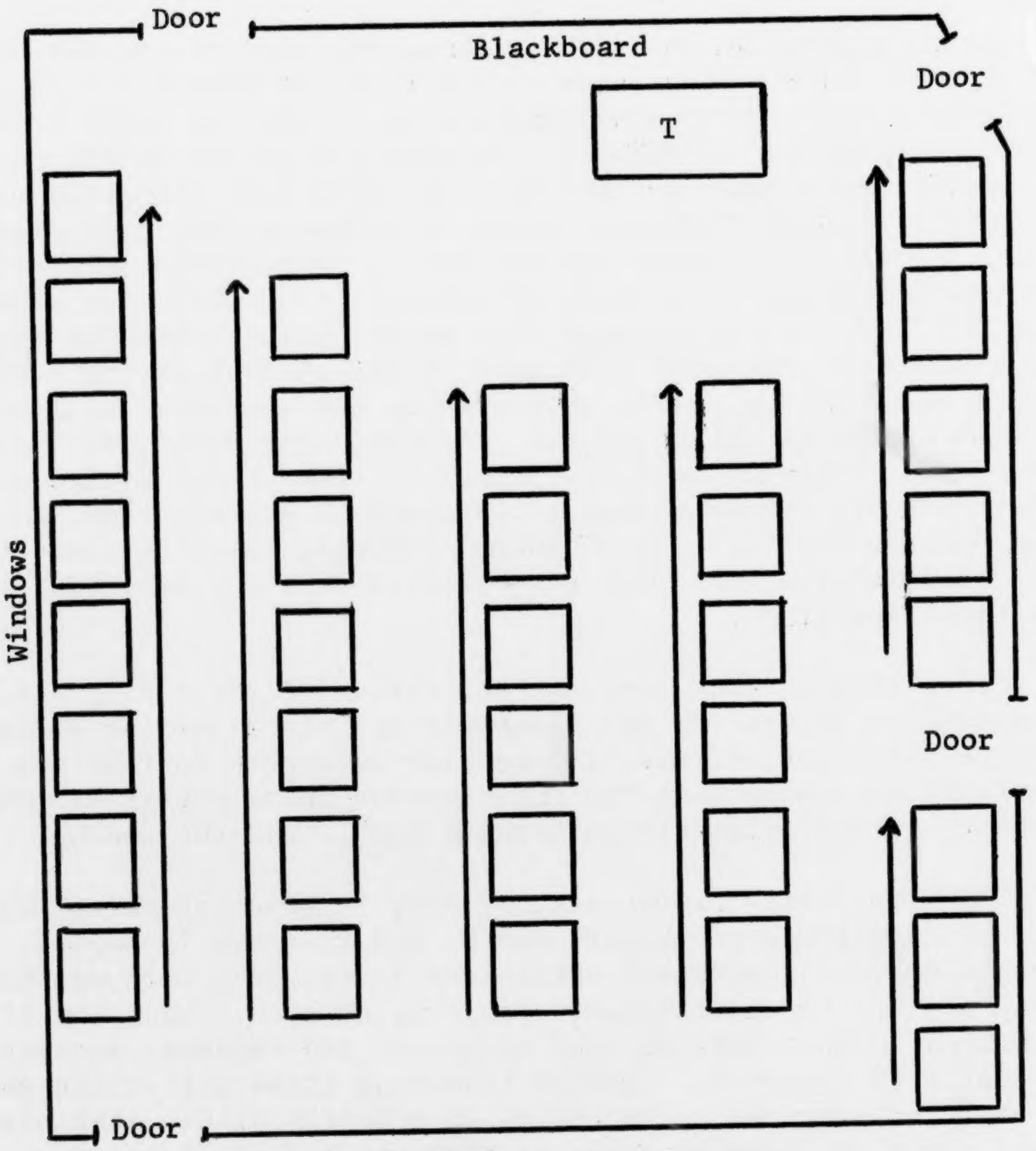
At the outset it should be pointed out that the classroom is more often than not a very busy place. In a study of elementary classrooms Jackson found "that the teacher engages in as many as 1,000 interpersonal interchanges each day" (1968:11). In addition to the relationships between teacher and students there are also many ties among the students themselves. By using Stebbins' modes of communicating role distance behaviour (1969), the author has pointed to some of the activities in which students engage as a means of communicating with each other (Martin, 1970: 28-29, et passim). It is recognized that the amount of physical movement and vocal behaviour of any student during a regular 45-minute class period can be both sizable and chaotic. At times instances of classroom behaviour are relatively continuous or fused, while at other times they are more discrete. In view of the myriad activities that may be taking place within a classroom at any one time, no attempt will be made to describe all of them. Instead, specific activities will be used to demonstrate certain generalizations about behaviour observed within each classroom.

Since it was found that the activities of the pupils are to a large extent influenced by the teacher's definition of the situation and her resultant activities, it was also necessary to take her actions into account when observing the interactions among pupils as well as when observing the interactions between pupils and the teacher.

There is little difference, if any, in teaching performance with respect to competence in subject matter and interest in pupils. However, in certain subjects there are variations in teaching methods, and while the teachers had no disciplinary problems, as such, there are dissimilarities in what they defined as proper and improper activities for their pupils to engage in. Before examining these activities we shall take a look at specific instances of interaction within each classroom and point out some of their differences and similarities.

The difference in seating arrangements and grouping procedures was one of the first features noticed in the two classrooms studied. At the Hillside class the pupils' desks are placed in rows of six, seven or eight, running parallel to each other at a distance of two to three feet apart (Figure 3). Each child has his own seat, which is in a fixed location that was selected by him when the school year began or to which he has been moved by the teacher for disciplinary reasons. Pupils are not allowed to move to another seat. All of them sit facing the front of the classroom.

By contrast, the pupils' desks in the Higher Levels class are placed in four separate groups which shall be referred to here as physical groups (Figure 4). Each student has his own seat. It is in a fixed location that has been selected by the teacher in consultation with the pupil. Some of the pupils sit facing the front of the classroom while others sit facing each other. Pupils are placed according to progress

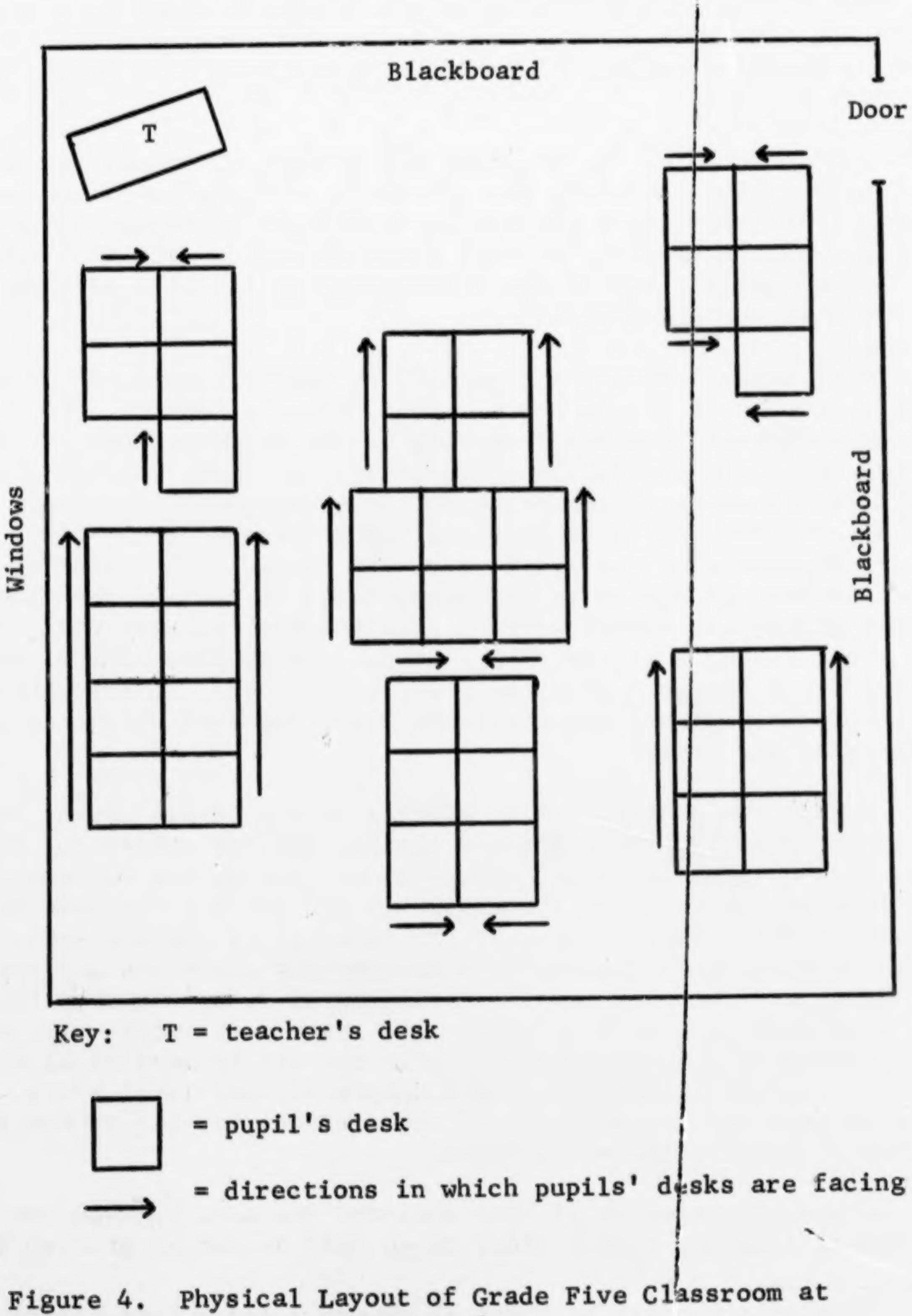

Door
Blackboard
Door
T
Windows
Door
Door

Key: T = teacher's desk

□ = pupil's desk

→ = direction in which pupils' desks are facing

Figure 3. Physical Layout of Grade Five Classroom at Hillside


Blackboard
Door
T
Windows
Blackboard

Key: T = teacher's desk

□ = pupil's desk

→ = directions in which pupils' desks are facing

Figure 4. Physical Layout of Grade Five Classroom at Higher Levels

during the mathematics and reading periods, and may be required to change seats with others in different physical groups in order to obtain group homogeneity. Similar changes may also occur when ad hoc groups are formed to carry out different projects in subjects such as history and geography.

The reasons for the progress and project groupings are obvious. Those reasons, together with the teacher's idea that physical grouping not only gives more space for moving around the classroom but also gives the pupils an opportunity "to work together and to help each other with their work," reflect one of the differences in teaching methods that exist between the two classes.

Miss Avery, the grade 5 teacher at Higher Levels, divides the students into three groups during the mathematics period. Each group works at different problems depending on the progress that it is making. She does not teach the entire class at any one time, but instead she moves from one group to another, sometimes using the blackboard at the front of the room and at other times using the one on the side, the choice of board depending on the location of the group being taught at the time. As she teaches the pupils in one group those in each of the other two progress groups are either working individually, working with two or three other students in the same physical and progress group, or moving back and forth from one physical group to another. Interactions between members of these groups are generally about the work which the pupils are doing at the time.[1]

Unlike the pupils in Miss Avery's Higher Levels class, those in Miss Jones' Hillside class are not grouped for any subjects. Miss Jones always teaches from the front of the room. During the mathematics period she stands at the front of the classroom and assigns the same mathematics problems to the entire class. If the material is new she explains it to the entire class simultaneously, answering any questions the pupils might have, and querying them in her attempts to ensure that they understand what they have to do. After this introduction she walks around the classroom helping individual pupils who are in need of it and evaluating them as she looks at a random sample of individual books. There was an attempt made to keep all of the students working at the same problems in their mathematics books.

A specific example of this occurred one morning when the teacher, Miss Jones, told the entire class to go only as far as problem 9 on page 89. After 15 or 20 minutes Keith asked if he could go farther than number 9 because he had finished all the problems up to and including this one. The teacher replied "No, that's enough to do today." A few moments after this Miss Jones asked, "How many are finished?" About one-half of the class were. They indicated this by raising their hands in response to Miss Jones' question. They were not allowed to go farther in their mathematics books and each found other things to do. Three or four began to do a review of the problems they had done on previous days, while three others got books from the library at the back of the classroom. The pupils who got books asked the teacher's permission to do this by raising their hands and waiting for her to ask them what they wanted. Four or five whispered across the classroom. The teacher spoke to those who were whispering. She said, "Stop talking and finish your maths. If you're finished there must be something you can do." After an additional five minutes Miss Jones asked, "Now how many of you are not finished?" Five of them were still working on the assignment. The teacher went to the seats of these students, before she began to correct the work of the entire class.

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[1] Students who sit in physical groups 2 and 3 (see Figure 4) during mathematics periods are in the same progress group. During one mathematics period three pupils from group 3 moved from their seats a total of six times going to someone's seat in group 2. Five students from group 2 made a total of ten visits to group 3. Out of these 16 visits between groups 2 and 3, 14 were about the mathematics problems which the students were doing at the time. There was a total of ten visits made among the other physical groups. Six of these visits were concerned with mathematics.

The interaction pattern in each classroom was different during the mathematics periods in that while Miss Jones taught the whole class simultaneously and moved around the classroom helping individual pupils, Miss Avery taught groups of pupils and moved around the class helping these different groups more than individual pupils. Also, since the pupils at Higher Levels have considerably more freedom to move around in the classroom than those in the Hillside class, and since they often went to the teacher wherever she happened to be at the time, the Higher Levels teacher became the center of little groups of pupils seeking advice and evaluation of their work. Consequently, the teacher at Higher Levels cannot move about the classroom as freely as can Miss Jones at Hillside.

The teacher in both classrooms would often tell the pupils to "find something to do" until everyone was finished or until the class period ended. There are pupils who "fool around" or "daydream" rather than embrace the role expectations which the teachers have for them. In neither of the situations, that at Higher Levels or Hillside, are all the pupils "tuned in" at the same time on what the teacher is trying to do. She is communicating with different individuals at different times. From the amount of nonacademic behaviour observed, it is evident that more pupils are responding to extraneous stimuli when the teacher at Hillside is teaching mathematics than when the teacher at Higher Levels is teaching this subject.

In both cases some pupils had to find something to do while they waited for others to finish. However, the number of pupils waiting at any one time at Higher Levels was not as great as that at Hillside, because in the former school the number whom the teacher tried to keep working at approximately the same problems was smaller. One big difference was that at Higher Levels the teacher often encouraged specific students who were finished to help others who were not and who were having difficulty with their work. For example, Pearl, a pupil in mathematics group 2, went to the teacher who was helping progress group 3, and asked her how to do a specific problem. The teacher said that she was busy and told Pearl to ask Russell, who was also in progress group 2, to help her. After the teacher was finished at progress group 3, she checked to see if Russell had helped Pearl with her problem. At Hillside the teacher did not have the pupils helping each other. Sometimes, however, the pupils did try to help each other by talking across the classroom or turning around to the person behind. These activities were defined as misbehaviours and often terminated by the teacher.

Some of the pupils in both classes got library books while they were waiting for others to get their work finished. At Higher Levels the pupils got these books without leave from the teacher. If this happened at Hillside the children concerned would be reprimanded for leaving their seats without permission.

During the reading periods at Higher Levels, the activities of the pupils and interactions among them are similar to those of the mathematics periods. Except for the reading involved in the different subjects, the Hillside class does not have a reading program as such.

The students in the Higher Levels class are often divided into small groups to do projects. Usually these projects involve getting information on specific topics by using the school library. Such a project was assigned during one of the geography periods observed. Miss Avery divided the class into groups of eight and gave each group the name of a different animal to obtain information on. They were given the instructions that it was to be a group effort and that each group had to appoint someone to report back to the class on the findings of the group. During the first period two of the five groups went to the school library while the other three stayed in the classroom and used their geography textbooks as well as the library at the back of the class. In the next geography period the two groups that used the library in the previous geography class now stayed in the classroom while the other three groups went to the library. During both geography periods all five groups worked with very little supervision from Miss Avery. Each group also appointed one of its members to report on the information that had been gathered.

Grouping for such projects has not been introduced into the Hillside class. While one of the reasons for not having this procedure at Hillside school may be the lack of a school library, there is also a reluctance to accept innovations which seem to threaten the traditional methods of approach. Miss Jones' defensiveness when questioned about progress grouping is indicative of this spirit. She said, "I would like to group my students but what can you do when you have twenty-five? . . . . There isn't enough room in the class anyway."

There were more class discussions in the Higher Levels class than in the one at Hillside. As well, more pupils took part in the discussion in the former than in the latter. In a one-week observation period at the Hillside class there were two class periods where the pupils discussed the lesson being taught at the time. In each period about ten of the pupils took part in the discussion. During a similar observational period at the Higher Levels class there were five class periods where pupils discussed the subject currently being taught. In each of these discussions 20 or more of the students took part, while in one particular period some 35 of the 40 students were involved to a greater or lesser degree.

There are only a few similarities between the two schools in the teacher-pupil interaction patterns. These similarities are found when Higher Levels pupils are not grouped into progress or project groups. Under such circumstances Miss Avery, like Miss Jones, teaches from the front of the classroom and moves about helping individual pupils and evaluating their work. Even in these circumstances, however, there are differences between the classrooms, for Miss Avery is still the gathering point for pupils with something to ask or show her. This stands in contrast to the situation at Miss Jones' Hillside class, where most of the pupils who want to talk to the teacher remain seated with their hands raised and propped at the elbow while waiting patiently for the teacher to come to them. Only occasionally did any pupil speak to the teacher without raising his hand. Sometimes he just raised his hand and said what he had to say without waiting until the teacher saw his hand. In the majority of cases, however, each child raises his hand and waits for the teacher to ask what he wants before he says anything.

Another difference in the teacher-pupil relationship in these two classrooms is the way in which the pupils approach their teachers. We have already pointed out that the pupils at the Higher Levels class go to the teacher often regardless of where she is in the classroom, even if she is teaching another progress or physical group. In contrast, the Hillside pupils rarely leave their seats to go to the teacher. The only time they do this is when the teacher is sitting at her desk and not talking to any other pupil. Each of the 12 pupils who were observed going to the teacher under these circumstances did so with his hand raised as he approached the teacher and each waited for her to speak first before speaking himself.

It has been pointed out that the pupils of the Higher Levels class move from their classrooms for certain subjects: French, music and physical education. Music and physical education are taught in the rooms designed for these subjects, while French is taught in a classroom similar to their main classroom. In each of these rooms the activities of the pupils, the interactions among them, and between them and the teacher are different. The reasons for variation between the interactions in the French class and those in the main classroom are: (1) The arrangements of the seats in each classroom are different (see Figures 4 and 5). (2) In the French class every pupil has to have his name on his seat for the purpose of identification. The French teacher teaches several classes of French, and she does not know the names of all the students. (3) While French class is in session the pupils are not allowed to move from their seats or to talk back and forth to each other. (4) The nature of the subject matter and the method of teaching used are different.

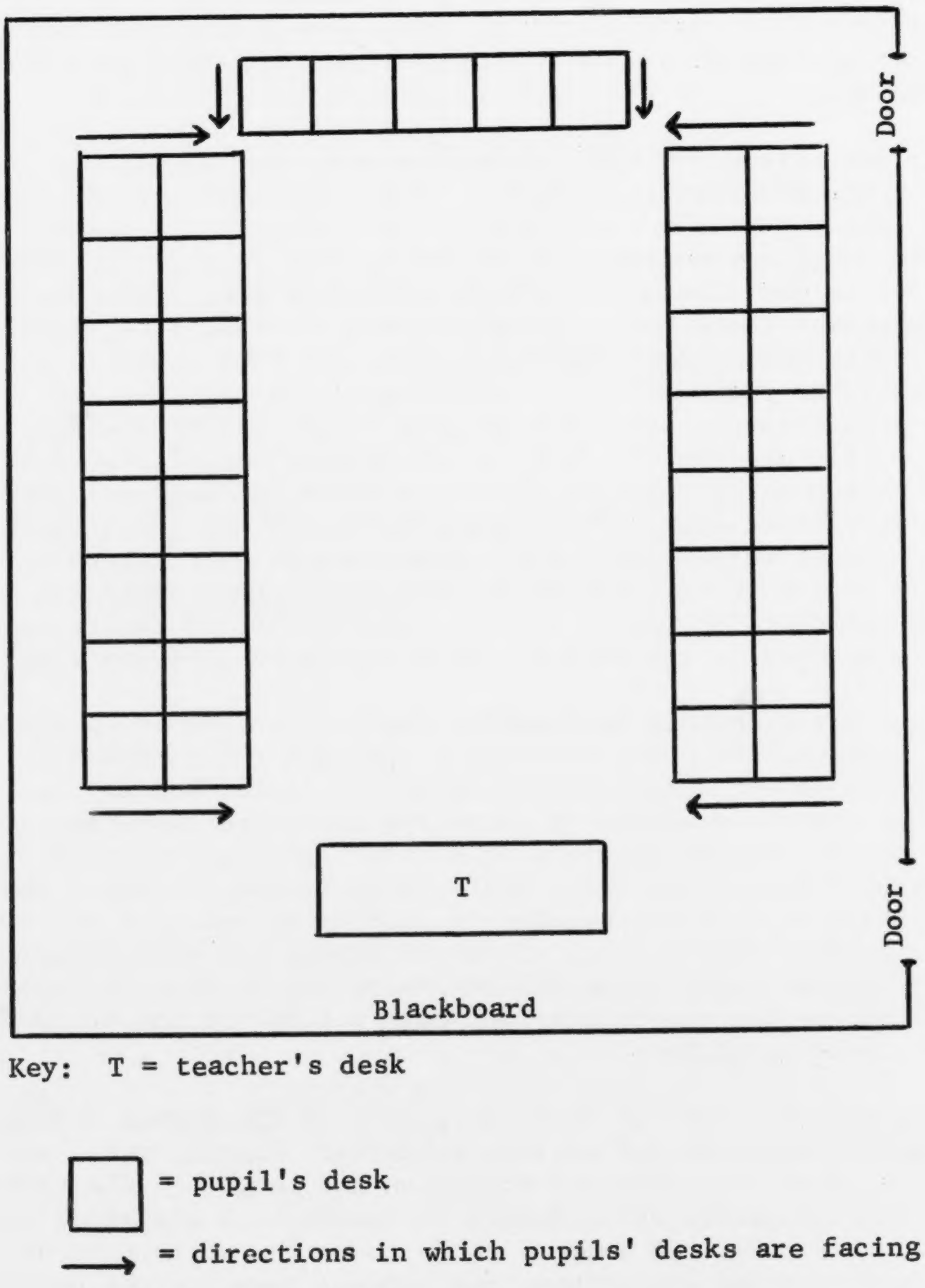
Door
Door
T
Blackboard
Key: T = teacher's desk
☐ = pupil's desk
→ = directions in which pupils' desks are facing

Figure 5. Physical Layout of French Classroom at Higher Levels

With the exception of the presence of a different teacher in the classroom, the interactions in the French periods at the Hillside school are similar to those found during all other periods at this school. The interactions among the pupils are at a minimum mainly because of the restrictions put on them. In fact, the interactions among the pupils in the French classes at each school are in many ways alike for the same reason.

Disorderly Behaviour

The teacher's definition of what constitutes disorderly behaviour affects not only the teacher-pupil interaction but particularly the interactions between pupils. We shall now look at some of the differences in the types of behaviour considered by each teacher to be inappropriate for the classroom and how this affects the interactions among the students.

"Whispering" is considered to be "o.k." by Miss Avery. She said, "Sure they can talk, unless it is disturbing to others. If someone is talking to them they should stay quiet." Since the pupils are free to move around the classroom and talk to each other, whispering across the classroom, that is to say, from one physical group to another, is all but eliminated. The fact that some of the students are not facing the front of the classroom, together with the freedom given them for moving out of their seats, has meant that "turning around" is not a problem. Sometimes some of the pupils moved around the classroom "too much" and without "adequate reasons for doing so." In such situations the moving was considered disorderly and had to be terminated by the teacher.

In contrast, all four teachers of the Hillside class consider whispering across the classroom to be disorderly behaviour, especially if it is prolonged or if the pupils involved are a considerable distance from each other. This type of activity is common in the Hillside classroom because the pupils often have a desire to talk to someone, but are not permitted to move from their seats. Thus the only alternative is to whisper back and forth. Turning around, that is to say, looking toward one of the sides of the classroom or toward the back of it, is also considered to be undesirable, especially if the pupil who has turned is trying or assumed to be trying to "copy" from someone else's work. This was vividly illustrated by the teacher when she gave out a sheet of paper with some geography questions on it. She saw a couple of the pupils turning around and talking to those behind them. She reminded them that it is easy for them to cheat, but that they should keep their work to themselves. She said, "Keep your own work to yourself and don't go turning around." This admonishment by the teacher and the resultant pupil behaviour is indeed different from that which exists in the Higher Levels class where the desks are grouped so that the pupils may "help each other with their work."

We have already pointed out that the principals of these two schools hold different attitudes toward disciplining the pupils who have misbehaved. The different methods used to achieve the desired results have also been demonstrated. In contrast to these differences in administration, the teachers in both schools show many similarities in their handling of the incidents of misbehaviour which occur in the classroom. It should be reiterated, however, that the activities which each teacher defines as misconduct are in many cases different. Generally speaking the teacher used one of the following three methods to terminate disorderly behaviour:

1. Speaking to the entire class: for example, saying such things as, "Be quiet grade 5 class", or "You have lots of work to do, so get to work."

2. Speaking to individual pupils, telling them to stop whatever they are doing. For example, saying such things as "Be quiet Murray", "Stop talking Patrick" or "Turn around Terry". Miss Avery at Higher Levels sometimes tells specific students to sit down; i.e., those whom she considers to be walking around the classroom unnecessarily. Sometimes the teacher spoke to individual pupils by asking a question, for example, "Why aren't you working?" or "What's the trouble with you?"

3. Sometimes a sudden and prolonged interruption in the activities of the teacher is all that is necessary to get the attention of the pupils. At other times the interruptions are accompanied by stern looks at specific pupils.

Many incidents of misbehaviour were tolerated by each of the two teachers, but when misbehaviour was accompanied by incomplete seatwork the teacher concerned was especially annoyed. Several times Miss Jones made humiliating remarks to pupils who combined tardiness in doing their work with incidents of misbehaviour. For example, once she looked at Peter and said, "Why can't you do your work like Dulcie has hers done?" On another occasion she told Ern that he should go out with the kindergarten class and "stay there until you learn to behave yourself".

Having discussed some of the activities which are taking place within each of the classroom teaching situations observed, it is now time to look at the patterns of influence and attraction among the students in each classroom as seen by the students themselves.

SOCIAL POSITIONS

The social positions of popularity and of having fellow students wanting to be one's partner in carrying out a project relating to some subject studied at school were measured by a self-report questionnaire. In this discussion we shall refer to the latter social position as that of attraction.

Both classrooms studied were comprised of interlocking subgroups of pupils. At Higher Levels, however, the social positions of popularity and attraction are shared by a greater percentage of pupils than in the Hillside class. These social positions are shared by 71 per cent of the Higher Levels class and by 60 per cent of the class at Hillside (see Table 3). This table also shows that in all situations the percentage of the total number of girls chosen at the Higher Levels class is higher than that chosen at the Hillside class. With the exception of the situation where the boys received recognition on at least one of the social positions, there is also a greater dispersion of these social positions among the boys in the Higher Levels class than there is in the Hillside class (Table 3). Not only is the popularity ranking more dispersed in the Higher Levels class but no boy or girl in this class was a choice of more than one-quarter of the class. The highest boy was the choice of 22.5 per cent of the class, while the girl receiving the highest number of choices obtained only 17.5 per cent of the class total (Table 4). This stands in contrast to the situation at Hillside where 57.1 per cent of the class chose one girl and 31 per cent of the class chose one boy (Table 5).

Table 3. The Patterns of Social Positions

	Hillside Class			Higher Levels Class		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Chosen as first choice to work on a class project	36%	37%	36%	55%	61%	58%
Receiving at least one vote as the most popular in the class	45	38	41	50	67	58
Receiving at least one vote on each social position	23	30	26	41	39	40
Receiving at least one vote on either of the social positions	66	54	60	64	79	71

Table 4. Pupils Sharing Popularity in the Higher Levels Class

Boys	Per Cent of Votes	Girls	Per Cent of Votes
Alvin	22.5%	Vera	17.5%
Jack	17.5	Judy	15.0
Allan	5.0	Dorothy	7.5
Kent	5.0	Edna	7.5
Lee	5.0	Jessie	5.0
Roy	5.0	Yvonne	2.5
Patrick	5.0	Lilly	2.5
Marshall	5.0	Ivy	2.5
Lionel	2.5	Pearl	2.5
Kenneth	2.5	Louise	2.5
Russell	2.5	Students answering "No girl is popular"	15.0
No answer	22.5	No answer	20.0

With regard to selection between the sexes, it is of interest to note that in the Higher Levels class only one boy selected a girl as his first choice to work with on a project, while no girl selected a boy. Six boys of this class said that no girl in this class could be considered as being popular and eight boys did not give any answer at all. On the other hand, at Hillside seven boys selected girls as their first choice to work with on a project and one girl selected a boy. All boys selected one girl or another as being the most popular in the class.

The fact that the social positions in the Higher Levels class are more dispersed than those of the Hillside class can be related to the finding that a higher percentage of pupils in the Higher Levels class take part in class discussions than take part in the class discussions in the Hillside class. The students in the Higher Levels class have an opportunity to interact more than do those in the Hillside class, and thus they have something on which to base attraction and popularity. The greater dispersion in the Higher Levels class is also in accord with the "helping each other" approach which is found in this classroom. This is in contrast to the idea that the individual should do his own work which is prevalent at Hillside. The lower percentage of choices across the sex line in choosing a partner for a project in the Higher Levels class and the fact that six of the boys in this school said that none of the girls in the class are popular is more difficult to understand. One can speculate that it may be connected to the types of groupings that take place in the classroom or that it may be directly related to the economic and social backgrounds of the pupils. In either case it is an area that warrants further research before any definite correlation can be established.

Table 5. Pupils Sharing Popularity in the Hillside Class

Boys	Per Cent of Votes	Girls	Per Cent of Votes
Benvie	31.0%	Dulcie	57.1%
Keith	20.0	Sharon	11.4
Charlie	20.0	Lydia	8.7
Kevin	7.7	Ann	5.7
Alfred	2.9	Vera	2.6
Harrison	2.9	No answer	14.3
Oliver	2.9		
Ern	2.9		
Vernon	2.9		
Garry	2.9		
No answer	2.9		

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Two schools were selected for study, one from a relatively affluent area and one from a relatively economically deprived area. First, the disparities in the school plant and equipment were presented. These differences are seemingly of a purely economic nature. There are also variations in the attitudes with which the teachers regard the areas in which the schools are located. The problem of educating parents to realize the importance of their children's education is obviously more acute at Hillside than it is at Higher Levels. There are many similarities between the methods of social control used by each teacher. However, there are differences in the attitudes of the principals with regard to their treatment of disorderly behaviour. These diverse attitudes are seemingly the result of holding on to a traditional method of disciplining on the part of the Hillside principal, and the adopting of more modern and progressive methods on the part of the Higher Levels principal.

The interaction patterns between the teacher and the pupils and among the pupils are different for each classroom observed. The following factors were found to affect these variations:

1. The physical, progress, and project groupings of the Higher Levels class in comparison to no grouping at all in the Hillside class.

2. The prevailing idea in the Higher Levels class that the pupils are to help each other and not necessarily work as isolated individuals as is the predominant philosophy of the Hillside class.

3. The freedom which the pupils in the Higher Levels class enjoy, for example, moving from their seats and talking to each other, in contrast to the relatively rigid rules imposed on the pupils at the Hillside class. These rigid rules keep the pupils in their seats and prevent them from talking to other pupils.

It has also been shown that the dispersion of social positions among the pupils is different for each of the classrooms observed. There are indeed many disparities in these urban classrooms, many of which ultimately seem to be related to the economic status of the segment of the community in which the school is located.

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SHADOW STUDIES IN AGRIPOLIS

John Milner

It was a request from the provincial teachers' federation that drew the writer into the shadow study project. Since I was a stranger to the school system and to the city selected, it seemed to me that the task set out would be straightforward and relatively uncomplicated in that objectivity could be easily maintained among strangers. During interviews and successive observations, however, I repeatedly found it necessary to constrain myself from making suggestions which my experience as a teacher and superintendent had proven valuable in other situations. The task was further complicated in that Agripolis[1] does not contain a distinct, homogeneous poverty sector with all the well-publicized characteristics and variations with which poverty literature is replete. Considerable difficulty was met in obtaining some of the very basic socio-economic data for the two sectors of the city. This was a surprise, considering the prestige which most local educators accord the social science departments of the university. As the department head of Sociology of Education succinctly concluded, "This is an area that is completely unexplored in Agripolis." City planning and social services offices were similarly barren of any meaningful analysis of differences between the two sectors of the city. Under these circumstances, the Census Tracts (1966), although out of date, proved invaluable.

The willing cooperation of the interviewees is gratefully acknowledged. Of the teachers into whose classroom privacy I intruded as a non-participating observer, I remain indebted.

For the numerous insights gained during the study I thank students, fellow educators and the sponsoring body.

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[1] The name Agripolis is fictitiously given to the city and is intended to reflect the agricultural service functions to which the city business district is oriented.

Observer Bias

The study was conducted by an out-of-province teacher and school superintendent now on educational leave. His major field of study is Indian and Métis education. Of his 12 years of teaching experience the observer has spent the last six years as an administrator of schools which provide educational services to the poor and culturally different. The observer was aware of the guiding constructs and social theory which made him selectively perceptive in an observational project such as this. His past experience was, at once, both helpful and confining.

Method

Having decided with the sponsoring agency the general nature and limits of the task, the observer approached the principals of the two schools in the study to probe their willingness to assent to the project. Both were cooperative. The sponsoring body then cleared the study with the administrative hierarchies.

In both cases the school principals were requested to pool the names of a dozen male, representative, grade 8 students and draw one at random. The principals arranged a brief interview with the home room teachers so that the observer was able to present to them a very general description of the task. The teacher in the affluent school was already aware of the identity of the student selected. This fact did not appear to affect the relationship between the teacher and the student.

The method of data collection was non-participatory observation of the two students in the classroom and on the school grounds. Background information on students, schools and the community was obtained from over 20 interviews with community officials and service personnel. Interviews with principals were recorded on a small cassette machine. Field notes were not edited until the study was completed. The fatigue and staleness which accumulates from day after day notetaking was minimized by alternating days of observation with days of interviewing. Incidents were always recorded before being discussed to avoid the sharpening, levelling and distortion common to recall of impressions and to avoid variations arising from successive transmissions of episodes.

Setting

The study was conducted in a city located in the prairie region of Canada. For purposes of this study the name Agripolis is appropriately given to the city. Agripolis is bisected by a rather large prairie river which in this area has no flood plain, having worn precipitous banks on both east and west sides.

Before the turn of the century an early frontier settlement was created on the east bank and with the coming of the railroad to the west bank a new settlement developed along the tracks. The west side proved to have more suitable watering facilities and therefore flourished while drought and depression impeded residential and commercial growth on the east side.

Just after the turn of the century, improved railway connections, an expanding cattle-beef industry, and the distribution functions of the frontier town provided an impetus to its growth. The establishment of a university has been a factor of considerable importance and has given the city status as a major educational center.

While the 3200-acre university site has prevented commercial and residential growth toward the north on the east side of the river, early industrial and residential expansion west of the river has created today's "old town" appearance with small shops and single-storey homes interspersed with two-storey brick and frame houses just outlying the city center's chain department stores and warehouses.

Recently the expanding wholesale industry, the discovery of nearby mineral deposits, the meat packing and processing industry, the rapid expansion of university facilities and enrolment and the exceptional rail, road and air connections with the service area and the rest of Canada have contributed to establish the city as the second most rapidly growing urban center in Canada. To accommodate this growth, housing developments have focussed on suburban extensions rather than redevelopment of the poorer sections. Wealth, foresight and rigidly enforced building codes have insured and maintained the attractiveness of the suburbs which have been expanding since the late 1950's.

Agripolis has experienced three major residential building booms centering about 1912, 1929 and the decade since 1959. The majority of the earliest homes were soundly built two-storey buildings placed on lots with thirty- to fifty-foot frontage. The more recent subdivisions have a minimum area of fifty-five hundred square feet, usually with at least a fifty-foot frontage. Eighty-five per cent of the present accommodation consists of single family dwellings, although the unrelenting demand for basement suites and second-storey rooms for student accommodation has resulted in substantial renovation of both older and newer homes. The city council has responded to this demand by enacting and enforcing a habitable rooms code.

As the city grew it enveloped several small neighbouring hamlets with substandard antiquated housing. As these homes become vacant, the owners are faced with modernizing, demolition or court action. This technique has been effective in reducing the total number of antiquated houses to less than one hundred. The annual rate of reduction has varied from thirty to fifty.

Only recently have high rise apartments appeared on the city skyline. Located in the downtown area where single working girls predominate and the sex ratio is 3:2 in their favour, it is expected that the unfinished apartments will be populated with more females than males.

City planners have added to the casualness and beauty of the suburbs in developing and maintaining appropriately landscaped parks and playgrounds. An average of one acre for every 17 acres of residential and commercial property has been allocated to parks. In newer suburban areas the ratio approaches 1:14.

Interviews with senior engineering, health, sanitation and welfare officials indicated that, except for housing modernization, there existed no preoccupation or priority for services to focus on one sector of the city over any other. One school principal and members of his staff, however, were in repeated contact with welfare field workers. This is a fact about which social aid supervisors failed to lend support on interview.

Following the intensive health nurse visitation of beginners' homes in July and August, health personnel visit homes on a referral basis only. During the school year nurses visit schools on a regular basis. Each 250 students or major fraction thereof draws a response of one nurse for one-half day each week regardless of the location or peculiar characteristics of the school and its students. The nurses' schedule is established by the Health Department's central office early in the school year. Rarely is this schedule broken.

Organization for the education of Agripolis' children is shared by two school boards whose school service areas are mutually inclusive. The Public School Board provides education for non-Roman Catholic children while the Separate School Board is concerned with the education of Roman Catholics. It is unusual to find a Roman Catholic student or teacher in a public school and vice versa. The professed religious faith of the ratepayer determines the destination of his school taxes. As the proportion of Protestant ownership of commercial downtown properties favours the coffers of the Public School Board, the Separate School Board is faced with educating 24 per cent of the city's students with 17 per cent of the total school monies raised.

Both boards employ subject area specialists who provide services to schools on a request basis. Both school systems employ social workers, psychometricians, resource and subject area specialists. Being in the same city it is not surprising that the growth and organization of the school board offices and personnel have developed along parallel lines. Aside from the respective sizes of the school systems and compulsory religious instruction classes in the separate schools, any differences in school organization are by and large a function of the local principal and his teachers.

TRACKVILLE

Immediately across the tracks from Agripolis' business district lies a neighbourhood of small two-storey homes packed closely together. Built prior to the first World War, their age is hidden beneath a relatively bright and well-kept exterior.[2] Most dwellings are sound structurally and only rarely does one see an unattended, dilapidated, sagging home. These are usually box-like, of cheap original construction, and were, at one time, located just outside the city limits. The residential sector bordering the proposed high-speed artery has recently been re-zoned for light industrial use and high density housing. There is a trend toward mixed land use as industry is expanding into the residential areas. The immediate consequences are reflected in high land values and a decreasing population.

Three-quarters of the homes are owner-occupied. The inhabitants are largely foreign-born, Ukrainian working-class, with a few Métis families interspersed. Low rents attract the poor who move into the city. Invariably, when they are financially able to relocate, they move to a newer suburb. Less than one-third of the population has grade 10. The majority cast their vote in favour of the political group that has a labour orientation. Sexes are balanced, the child dependency rate is high, and per capita income is reported at $800. Rents and house values are the lowest in the city.

School teachers commute from across town.

Trackville School

Trackville Junior High is a red brick two-storey building located about 35 feet from a main truck artery. At one time it had been a residential Roman Catholic Convent School which served the community from 1911 to 1966. A three-storey former residence, now unused and dilapidated, is immediately adjacent to the school building. A 15-year-old addition containing three classrooms and a gym extends perpendicularly from one end of the old building. Its existence is not at first obvious as the shell-like ruins of another former residence partially mask it and its dark brown brick surface blurs into the gently sloping background which houses decaying warehouses and used machine lots.

The entry lane to the school is narrow, abrupt and lacks the usual indicators which provide advance warning of private egress-access roads.[3] Cars are parked randomly against the north wall of the school and vacant residence. Large trees and shrubs partially screen the view back toward the main traffic artery. A large playground separates the tracks from the school building. The play area is undeveloped and the snowy cover remains undisturbed except for a single path which circumscribes the building. Across the playground, one lonely backstop emerges as the single piece of visible playground equipment.

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[2] City planners proudly assert that the rigid Housing and Habitable Rooms codes and enforcement have effectively maintained the good repair of the area. Their department is also cautiously aware of the prevalence of encroaching blight.

[3] On one occasion, while looking for the school lane, the observer passed it before he became aware he had missed it.

The ground level, single north door places one on a small landing mid-way between the basement and first floor. Both upper and lower corridors are dimly lighted. Wooden floors, narrow corridors and high ceilings echo sounds from adjacent classrooms. A single 4' x 6' bulletin board displays a religious theme. Doorways are numerous and many lead into small offices and storerooms. Although the newer classrooms and gym are attractive, modern and spacious, the old wing has rooms which are no larger than 20' x 24'. The two exceptions are the library, 20' x 40', which was once a chapel, and the original dining hall area, now converted into a wood-working shop. A small out-of-the-way basement room has been converted into a music and art room. Later observation indicated that the broken areas with small rooms were considered unusable space.[4]

The doors are opened at eight and close at five. Students do not line up. They enter the hallways and place their clothes in lockers with the familiar combination locks securing them when unattended. Many students spend their free moments in the gymnasium, which provides ample room for a regulation volleyball court but is too short for a full-length basketball floor. Team games are played after four. At noon a canteen is opened just off stage and the stage becomes a lunch area supervised by staff members. Some students have a dinner of chocolate bars, chips and drinks while the majority have plain sandwich fare brought in paper bags. Most do not have fresh fruit included. After lunch the gym floor becomes an unorganized hive of free activity once again. A five-minute warning bell brings students to their lockers and classes. A few lates enter unchallenged.

The offices of the principal, vice-principal and guidance counsellor are plain and except for desk, chairs, filing cabinet, bulletin board and small bookcases, relatively bare.

Two years ago the Separate School Board decided to open the building for regular grade sevens and eights from the neighbourhood. The enrolment was increased to 200 by collecting students from across the city who qualify for a "work-study program" at the grade 9 and 10 levels. An additional class of "ungraded" students collected those with severe academic deficiencies from all the other elementary separate schools. The school is now known as a "modified" junior high school since "the board has collected all the (problem) students in one school to specialize and do a better job."

The ungraded students are 13-16 years of age, are assessed by the special pupil services clinic as slow learners and are functioning somewhere between the normal grade 2 and grade 5 work. One teacher instructs them in all subjects.

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[4] The observer has seen other staff groups place a premium on similar areas and effectively turn them into staff work stations, group conference rooms, project rooms and student offices.

The work-study pupils are screened by the staff and placed into the program on the basis of teacher assessment, cumulative records and the scores on the Canadian Tests of Basic Skills. As the program is terminal and irreversibly one-way, students must be 16 years of age before being permitted to enter. Core subjects include language arts, math, science, typing, industrial arts and home economics. In grade 10, the terminal year, students spend two weeks each month on job locations. Of the students in this program the guidance counsellor remarked, "This is the only time these students have ever experienced success; this is the first time they aren't always in trouble." He held little hope for the continuing education of these students for even though "on paper these students do meet the minimum qualifications for technical school (a nearby Center for Applied Arts and Science) they don't stand much of a chance because they are so crowded over there with unemployed adults."

Average school attendance for one winter month was cited as 94.7 per cent. The most common reasons for absence were given as "sick" and "babysitting while mother shopped."

Promotion is determined in staff meetings and last year Trackville School "only failed one boy." Individualized teacher-made or purchased programs are not in evidence in the school. The guidance counsellor stated a distinct need existed for "diagnostic and evaluative tools as teacher assessment of students was pretty well a subjective matter." The special pupil services personnel do not actively engage in the school programs beyond providing initial psychometric and diagnostic services. Teachers largely gave the impression of being on their own, with the principal as their sole resource.

The enthusiam generated by the fall elections to the Student Council has been lost. Members of the canteen staff are now appointed by teachers. Monies raised through the canteen are spent by the principal without student consultation or involvement. The three yearly dances were entirely arranged by the administration. On this matter teachers were unconcerned and did not view a change as being "possible with these kids."

Two years ago parents and teachers met to discuss the creation of a Parent-Teacher Association. The principal reports that "the parents decided not to have a PTA. Communication with parents was to be where and when required." Most parents have phones. A very few call the principal. Parent-teacher conferences are scheduled in response to a full-blown crisis. Under these circumstances teachers meet a few parents. Only one staff member visited the homes of his students. This teacher commented; "There is sort of a defeatist attitude right now over PTA's. Parents are not involved with the programs in the school and are not aware of a lot of things we are trying to do."

Employed in Trackville Junior High School are eight men and five women. Six have degrees and five are working toward their degrees in evening classes. No one has a major in special education. Each year one-half of the staff move. Average years of experience per teacher is just under nine. Although subject area specialization threatens the academic cohesion of the group, social solidarity prevails. Light-hearted ribbing and gossip is the common interplay in the staff room. Friday after four is frequently spent together at the local Armorys' building.

The staff and principal "are given a lot of academic freedom." The principal "is very open and most teachers feel free to discuss problems with him." The textbooks in a few courses were felt to be unsatisfactory and therefore replaced. The principal has actively participated in developing units in religious studies for homeroom teachers but the subject area teachers were left to their own devices. Joint planning committees and curriculum planning sessions were not in evidence.[5]

SHADOW STUDY NUMBER 1

Ron is one of three boys in a fatherless home. His father left the family ten years ago and does occasionally see the boys, but never the boys' mother. This year Ron's older brother dropped out of grade 10. His younger brother, in grade 4, has failing grades. Ron will be sixteen this year and in keeping with the school's promotional policy he will receive a "social pass" and continue with school beyond his sixteenth birthday. His cumulative folder is monotonously repetitive with D's and C's and 3rd and 4th percentile ratings. Three mental ability scores cluster in the low-average range. Non-verbal scores are fifteen points higher than verbal scores. Although Ron failed grade 2 and grade 4, his marks were only slightly improved in the repeating years. The most recent scores on the Canadian Test of Basic Skills present a profile consistent with early grade 5 placement. Ron is in grade 8.

TIME	BEHAVIOUR	ENVIRONMENT
		Home room has drab yellow walls, relieved only by the designs from a paper cutting period which are displayed on a 4' x 6' bulletin board. Permanent writing mars the center of the chalkboard. Window sills are five feet from the floor. Lighting is dim. Desks are arranged in five rows.

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[5] It is possible that departmentalization in this relatively small school restricts opportunities for planning and cross-fertilization of ideas.

TIME	BEHAVIOUR	ENVIRONMENT
8:50		Several students are busy setting up a filmstrip projector. Teacher is busy issuing instructions.
8:55	Ron enters, notices the observer, smiles and slouches in his seat. Turns to listen to hockey discussion between two boys behind him.	
9:00	Ron looks around the room, half-turned in his desk.	Bell rings. Teacher introduces a topic in Social Studies -- "Fur Trade in New France." Two students are asked to hand out a sheet of history dates.
9:05	Ron was daydreaming.	Teacher interrupted his presentation to announce changes in the daily timetable. Student corrected him. Two students were arguing across the room over a stolen book. Teacher concluded argument with, "Finished! We will see you two during the break."
9:10	Ron begins taking notes from board. He looks up at three syllable words three or four times. Misplaces letters and runs his pen through the word. Trys again. Succeeds.	Teacher reintroduced topic. Placed notes on the board while keeping up a running verbal presentation. Students not able to make out some letters intermittently interrupted to ask, "Sir, what is that after. . . ." Teacher explains and resumes presentation.
9:15		Teacher completes notes and continues talking while students are copying.
9:20		Teacher asks, "Everyone finished?" as he raises his hand to erase.
	Ron replies, "Yup".	
	Ron resumes note-taking. Ron finishes notes. Slouches.	Teacher places more notes on board. Student asks, "Sir, what does instability mean?" Teacher stops writing and explains. Teacher finishes notes and concludes with, "Go back over your notes and explain how the notes back up these five points."

TIME	BEHAVIOUR	ENVIRONMENT
9:25		"Those who wish to use the viewer or projector may.'
	Ron runs to the front and picks up the viewer, selects a strip and sits in the corner with his back against the wall. He points viewer so three others in front of him can see the frames.	Five students move to the filmstrip projector and begin operating it. Some remain at their desks working while others turn to see the image at the back of the room.
9:30	Ron occasionally looks at a slide that other students find interesting. He frequently makes a face into the viewer while looking at the exposed slide.	Teacher moves around the room, occasionally chiding students to be quieter or to start working.
9:40	Ron moves back to his desk, puts away his socials scribbler, takes his math scribbler and text and leaves the room, with one other student, to attend his remedial math class in the film room. They are joined by three students from other rooms.	Bell rings. Teacher says "Clean up your desks." Some students take the equipment back to the film room across the hall. Black polyethylene is hung over the window wall. Radiators are suspended beneath the windows. The room is dimly lit and has buff walls. Equipment includes one filmstrip projector and one 16mm projector. There is no screen. Seats have a writing arm.
9:41	Ron moves into the room and takes a seat at the front. Ron replies, "Couldn't do it."	Teacher enters and says "OK, sit down," to students who were standing. Turning to Ron he asks, "Did you get your work done?"
9:45		Teacher spends a few minutes helping Ron at his desk. Teacher then asks where an absent student is and leaves the room to find him.
	Student behind Ron pulls Ron's desk back by wrapping his feet around the back legs. Ron gets out of his desk and attempts to pull it back. He cannot. He moves to another empty desk at the front and pushes it into the front corner.	

TIME	BEHAVIOUR	ENVIRONMENT
	Ron replies "I'm a bad boy," (so I moved into the corner).	Teacher enters with "What are you doing up there?"
9:50	Ron picks up chalk from the ledge and throws it at a student across the room.	Teacher lifts his attention from another student and quietly faces the disturbance for about five seconds.
	Ron resumes working.	
	Ron picks up a dirty brush from the ledge and begins gently banging the board to make a chalk dust design.	Teacher moves closer to Ron.
	Ron puts the brush down and begins working again.	Teacher moves to a student who is working at the board.
	Ron begins tapping his feet on the wall in front of him.	
9:55	He picks up chalk and begins doodling on the board.	Teacher notices and turns his head saying "Don't!" and continues with the student at the board. Teacher then moves to Ron's desk and begins helping him with a problem. He poses penetrating questions.
10:00	Ron answers the questions easily.	Teacher moves to another student.
	Ron intermittently lifts his head to daydream in the direction of the student at the board.	
10:05	Begins making faces at a student across the room.	
10:10		Teacher asks Ron to work at the board. He explains question on the board to Ron.
10:15	Ron returns to his seat and does another question.	The bell rings.
		. . . .
	Ron takes his books to his homeroom. He and a friend walk down the hall and stairs to the gym.	About 40 students are shooting baskets at the four backstops. Eighteen balls are in play. The gym has a wooden floor and a

TIME	BEHAVIOUR	ENVIRONMENT
		spectator-stage area along the entire west wall.
	Ron finds a loose ball. He tucks it under his left arm and takes possession of another which he passes to his friend and shoots baskets with. Whenever the free ball is retrieved by other students he searches for another while holding one ball under his left arm.[6]	The bell rings.
	. . . .	. . . .
10:30		The guidance teacher is talking with two students at the front of the room.
	Ron enters. Like a lovable panda he is pushed back and forth between a larger girl and another boy. He flops in his seat.	
		Teacher begins amidst commotion, "Class we are going to see a film called Monkey on My Back." Some students groan, "I have seen it before." Teacher asks "How many have seen it before?" Three raise their hands. "Can you tell us what it is about?" No one can. "Let's move over to the film room across the hall."
10:35	Ron moves to the film room with the class and takes a front seat directly in line with that portion of the wall onto which the image is projected. Ron whispers to his friend until the film story thread is evident. For the remainder of the film he sits wrapped up in the story, smiling in response to humorous portions.	The projector has been set up previously and the teacher, with no additional introduction, begins the film when most students are seated.

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[6] Ron was never observed in the gym without a ball under his left arm and even though larger students were present no one ever attempted taking his "assurance ball"(?) from him.

TIME	BEHAVIOUR	ENVIRONMENT
11:00	Ron begins throwing his arms around monkey fashion and contorting his face. He gives several grunts and continues his antics until the bell rings.	Film ends. A student rewinds the film. Seated at the back of the room, the teacher poses questions relating to incidents in the film. Students are restless. A few respond to the queries. No effort is made to allay the fuss.
11:05	Ron joins in the general confusion by throwing crumpled paper, flicking a wet brush at a girl and drumming his water glass with his brush handle. He selects a seat near his best friend.	Students moved from the film room to the art class. The class was in a general uncontrolled uproar. The teacher, who also taught remedial math, raised his voice to issue instructions as he handed two 12" x 18" paper sheets to each student.
11:10	Ron began working on his project while conducting a relatively quiet conversation with his friend. Occasionally he would stand back, assess his "flowers" and mimicking a professional painter he would add a touch here and a touch there. Three times Ron showed the painting to other students and in each case his actions were greeted with comments similar to, "Hey, that's good!" Ron kept working after a light-hearted sincere fashion until the bell rang.	Again the teacher repeated in a loud voice the instructions. This time most students seemed to understand the task at hand and began collecting brushes and paints with which to work. The teacher was busy for the remainder of the period controlling harassing students. In one case a 17-year-old boy chose to draw a profile of the upper torso of a shapely nude woman and the teacher requested that he change his topic. Rather than taking a new sheet he very artfully drew another facing the first and placed the caption under it, THE VASE. (Except for shaded nipples, it was). More shading had to be added, but not enough to mask the illusory effect. The teacher accepted it and remained busy hushing students until the bell rang.

The observer remained behind. The silence was, at first, bewildering. The art room is in an out-of-the-way basement room. It measures 20' x 20'. Sinks line one wall under high basement windows and cupboards with ample art supplies are on the other wall. A cluster of 13 pipes, carrying steam and water, are slung from the ceiling. There are nine wooden tables of varying sizes with metal stacking chairs strewn randomly about the room. Walls were painted in white enamel. Some earlier classes had painted flower designs, in water colours, on two walls to brighten the room. "Make love" and "peace" were artfully and colourfully drawn on the back wall. A few faint smudges remained where other designs had been washed off. Someone had tried to bring colour and atmosphere to the art room. The door was off its hinges.[7]

A teacher was supervising lunch in the gym. Fifty to sixty students collected in small groups. The canteen was selling milk, bars and chips. There was a line-up at the coke machine. The box horse was left out and several students were jumping from it to the tumbling mat. The teacher removed these items. Lunch was over. The clean-up committee was business-like in its task. Students asked for balls and random activity continued in the gym until the bell rang.

Ron was there with one ball under his left arm and one which he was bouncing, shooting and bouncing. The classroom doors were locked. There was nowhere else for Ron to go.

Team sports were played after four. Ron did not participate; he walked home with his friend every day after four.

TIME	BEHAVIOUR	ENVIRONMENT
12:50	Ron walked to the library with his friend who exclaimed "That library is useless, there's nothing in there." Ron picked up a well-worn Mechanics Illustrated and leafed through it for the entire period. He spent most of his time on one article. He slouches, reads, looks at pictures, changes position and pages and reads.	The library is bright and freshly painted. It was once the chapel. Five metal tables with arborite tops are well separated in the large room. The wooden floors are well-polished. There are 36' of 6' high shelving around the walls -- mostly empty. There are less than 300 titles. There is one set of World Book and one set of Comptons. Both sets show no wear. There are three individual study cubicles. The librarian's desk is placed in the altar recess at the front. The room is on the front of the building and truck noise screens out the whispering and shuffling of the students.[8] Several attractive 9" x 12" crayon etchings are regularly spaced about the room.

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[7] The observer selected this particular section of his field notes for its representativeness.

[8] The School Board has sold one-half of the front lawn to the city so that the new high speed artery will curb about 20' from the school. Teachers complain of the street noise in the front rooms of the school. City planners greet the problem with a shrug of unconcern.

TIME	BEHAVIOUR	ENVIRONMENT
		The library is used as a study hall. The school has no librarian. The board's library consultant has been aware of the situation for the last two years.
		The bell rings.

MIDDLETOWN

Across the river from city-center is the residential suburb of Middletown with its spacious homes and immaculately kept lawns and yards. Except for a band of soundly built two- and three-storey residences along the river, Middletown homes have been constructed within the last 15 years. While marginal housing has been completely removed, remodelled river homes are in demand as prestige dwellings. All homes are modernized and blighting factors are extremely low. The northern section of the suburb borders the university. Attractive modern apartments have developed here and there from the need for student housing. Recent Census information reveals an annual two per cent increase in population. Housing rentals are the highest in the city and most basements have been converted to single accommodation for students. Three-quarters of the dwellings are owner-occupied. House values average at $18,000. Including university students, per capita income is $1,100.

The populace of Middletown are Canadian-born, comfortable, middle-class professionals who vote liberal. Three-quarters of the community has grade 10 or better. Census figures reflect the university population and a slight imbalance of the sexes in favour of young working females who are employed in the university.

Middletown School

Across the street from a shady park is a single-storey school that was built in 1951. The mottled beige brick building with its stuccoed gymnasium is set well back on the school property. In the summer the front lawn is attractively green and flowers border the walkway to the main entrance on the west. Students use the two east doors which open from large playrooms onto the playground. There is a 30-foot paved strip nearly running the length of the school which serves as a buffer against sand tracking. Hopscotch and other games are permanently painted on its surface. In the winter it is covered with snow. There are six tetherball courts, two soccer fields and an outdoor basketball court which are now little used, as most of the activity centers on the skating rink and jam pail curling. A link fence prevents stray balls from leaving the playground area.

The two playrooms are circumscribed with benches and serve as cloak rooms for parkas and overshoes. The doors leading into the school are usually open and it is not unusual to observe students entering their rooms or the library to complete an assignment or work on a project. Classroom doors are open and teachers may or may not be in their rooms. Most students, however, arrive at school just before classes begin at nine and one. Students do not line up.

On entering the building through the main west doors the visitor is greeted by colourful papier-maché and ceramic samples of handwork displayed from glassed-in cases. Immediately to the left is the staff room. It is adjacent to the gymnasium kitchen. A 72-cup percolator is always on. Red maple furniture borders the room, drapes cover the windows and a mirror and pictures are hung on the walls. Copies of ten professional journals are displayed on the information rack. Memoranda on "LSD" and "Teacher Absence" are conspicuously displayed on the end-table.

Across the hall is the receptionist's office and the principal's office. It is modest, bright, has wooden furniture, drapes and a bulletin board with schedules, charts and personal mementoes. The P.A. unit in the corner is somewhat unreliable and rarely used.

The school attendance area is roughly a square measuring ten blocks on each edge. Seven classrooms of students from grades 1 to 8 are drawn from this area. Additional space is filled with five classes of "academically talented" grade 7 and 8 students drawn from other elementary schools across the city. Ten hard-of-hearing children are enrolled in the regular classrooms and spend up to two hours daily in the school's hearing resource center. Thirty treaty Indian students are "bussed" in from a reserve outside the city limits. Entering in grade 3 or 4 these students' interest is held "with special attention until grade 5 or 6. Their attendance in grade 6 and 7 drops to 75 per cent." They do not continue with grade 8.

School enrolment is 317 and few students move in or out of the district during the school year. Some parents take winter holidays with their children. Except in the case of Indian students, most absences result from illness.

Remedial work and grouping practices are most frequent above grade 3. Individual students begin receiving regular daily attention in grade 4. Beginning at this level "organization of the classes is flexible to the point where some of us (teachers) are asking 'What does it mean to say this youngster is in school for four years?'" In grades 7 and 8 considerable flexibility is provided for the academically talented. Students work "individually with the teacher, except in science where they work in small groups." Failure and repetition of large blocks of content are rare. Students have freedom in selecting projects and any student may spend class time in the music room with band instrument instruction or in the library or reference rooms. The principal is currently engaged in developing a plan for grade 9 semester entry for those students who have mastered grade 8 well before June.

One of the staff's major emphases is the concern for precise skill level evaluation. Central office psychometricians, consultants and specialists are consulted and used in the school. For example, the reading consultant works with the teacher and with the student on a regular basis. The board's librarian assists in the selection of titles and demonstrates how books may be used in the schools. Along with the teachers' own devices, these rather comprehensive services provide up-to-date diagnostic and skill evaluation information.

Of the four social workers employed by the board the principal commented; "They contact the home and work with the teacher, the principal and parents. They are well qualified and have greatly assisted students."

The band instructor spends several half days a week in the school. One person from the local Indian Affairs office "assists Indian students to find some cultural validity to school life. She works with students in a tutorial sense." Several local parents work as library assistants. Resource people from the business district and the nearby university are frequently seen in the schools. Field trips are scheduled in good weather and students are frequently encouraged to attend cultural activities in the city's civic auditorium.

The president of the Student Council is in frequent contact with the principal. The Council receives subtle support from all staff members but no advisor is present at their meetings. The Council takes part in most assembly programs. Their other routine activities include; a milk machine, support of a Vietnam foster child, and an operetta. Present funds are earmarked for broadloom and drapes in the library.

The parent-teacher organization meets several times a year. Their meetings usually take the form of a panel of professionals discussing topics of current concern. The PTA has erected and maintains the open-air rink on the school playground.

The people of Middletown have not expressed a desire to use the school facilities. Aside from PTA meetings and gym rental to two religious groups, the school plant is rarely a focus for any community activities.

Including two half-time teachers the full staff complement is fifteen. Twelve have degrees and seven have two or more degrees. There are four men on staff. Average experience is seven years. Many of the teachers' husbands are doing post-graduate work or have short-term appointments in the university. Consequently annual staff turnover is beyond 60 per cent. One-half of the teachers serve on professional teachers' committees. Cross-pollination of methods and ideas is an on-going process which creates the impression of professional unity among members. From grade 5 through to grade 8, teachers have teamed. One provides the learning experiences in mathematics and the sciences and the other teaches language and the social sciences. French and physical education present the only exceptions to the pattern.

The principal is usually found consulting with teachers, observing in classrooms, substituting for a teacher away on a field trip or in his office consulting with board employees and other professionals.

All but four classrooms are off one central spacious hallway. The remaining rooms are set back of the gymnasium structure. The halls are well lighted and decorated with bulletin board displays outside each classroom door. Three students can be seen arranging their own display. The floors are covered with battleship linoleum throughout. Central in this wing is a classroom-size library. Three walls have floor to ceiling shelves filled with books. Off the library is a reference room where encyclopedias, dictionaries, autobiographies, and subject references are kept. This room is also called the "Conference Room" and has a central table with seating space for twelve. The hallway leads directly into the front of the gymnasium. The stage is behind the full-length, velvet stage curtains. Chairs are stored beneath the stage until needed. During noon-hour and after four there are supervised team sports in the gym. Floor hockey, volleyball and basketball are the most popular.

SHADOW STUDY NUMBER 2

Harry is a grade 8 student whose Canadian Test of Basic Skills composite scores rest at the ninety-third percentile. His mental ability score lies in the superior range. He is the secretary of the local chapter of a national rocket club. He is also a member of Agripolis' junior symphony. Harry's father is a medical doctor.

Harry's homeroom has pale green walls, a ten-foot acoustic tile ceiling, linoleum floor and three full-length rows of fluorescent lights. Tables to seat two are rather randomly located in the room. Students' books, novels and scribblers are held on the tables between bookends. The coat hanging area at the back of the room has been converted into five functional but make-shift cubicles. Windows along one wall are table high. Venetian blinds are dropped halfway. There is a sink with kitchen cupboards in one corner at the back. Readers, math books and references are located on trolley carts. Tables and chairs are in a "well used" condition.

TIME	BEHAVIOUR	ENVIRONMENT
8:55	Harry is seated and carries on a quiet conversation with the student across the table. He rises and politely approaches the teacher's desk.	Observer enters. No one seems to notice his presence. Teacher is seated at her desk.
	Harry moves back to his table and gets his math text and scribbler ready for work.	Bell rings.
	Harry joins the line facing the door.	Teacher says, "We are having an assembly this morning." There is very little commotion. As the hallway clears the line moves quietly down to the gym and the students sit in rows on the floor. Everyone stood for O Canada and the Lord's Prayer. Students were seated. A grade 6 class presented an interest-catching skit. A few annoucements were made by the Vice-principal.
9:10	Harry reverently participates. Harry pays attention throughout. He smiles at the humour and wears a serious expression during the sober moments of the play.	
9:30	Harry moves back to his class and desk. Seated he talks quietly with his partner and he resumes working on math.	In quiet undertones, the student lines move back to class. A few students are tardy in settling down. The teacher says, "I think we will go ahead with our math." The desired result is achieved.
9:35	Harry is searching his briefcase for a compass as a student approaches and asks to borrow a pencil. He complies and returns to work.	Teacher is seated. Some students approach her desk for help.
9:40	Harry glances at the hydro employees and continues working.	The school meter is on a hydro pole just outside the window closest to Harry. Two men approach the pole to read the meter.
9:45	Harry moves to the teacher's desk for help.	
	Harry disagrees with the solution.	Teacher asks another student to come up and checks Harry's problem.

TIME	BEHAVIOUR	ENVIRONMENT
		Teacher asks a third student, "Don, do you have the Teacher's Manual?" Don brings the manual to the teacher.
	From the manual Harry discovers that his answer is incorrect but is unable to detect his error. The teacher briefly explains his mistake. Harry returns to his table and works.	When not helping students the teacher is working at her desk.
9:50	Harry rises and moves across the room to sharpen his pencil. He returns and finishes another problem.	
10:00	Harry's friend consults about a question. Friend moves to teacher's desk. Harry moves to the teacher's desk and solves his friend's problem with a pointing finger and a statement.	The teacher has said nothing.
	Both sit down and work.	
	Occasionally Harry stands or shifts position to get better leverage for geometric diagrams he is working on.	
10:10		Teacher walks to a table where a student is doing unnecessary talking to his buddy and asks, "Do you think you are putting your best into your work?" With obvious guilt the student replies, "I'm not sure."
10:20		The recess bell rings.
	Harry and his friend are still working in the room when the rest have left.	The teacher pushes the two out with, "That looks nice but you should go out for a break."

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TIME	BEHAVIOUR	ENVIRONMENT
1:00	Harry enters the room and briefly talks to several others about a noon-hour basketball game.	A twenty-minute study period is scheduled.
1:02	He prepared his books and sat down to work.	
1:10	The teacher's presence is unnoticed by Harry, who is diligently working.	The supervising teacher enters the room.
1:15	Harry occasionally lays his pencil down and sits upright, gazing at his problem as if to get a new insight. He then resumes.	The supervisor quietly walks around the room. All students are busy. No one speaks.
1:20	Harry picks up his clarinet and lines up with the others.	The supervisor says, "Those going to French and music line up, please."
		The line goes down the hall and quietly and uneventfully breaks into two groups. One goes to French and Harry's group continues farther to the music room.
	Harry takes his seat, places the reed in his mouth while assembling the instrument and waits for instructions.	
1:25	The instruments are tuned together.	The music teacher quiets other students and gives instructions.
1:30	Harry demonstrates silent leadership in turning his instrument toward a younger student who was experiencing difficulty producing true notes.	The practice begins. The first two bars are repeated with appropriate instructions being given after each trial.
	Harry patiently waited through the teacher's reprimand.	Some younger students blurted out bars and notes while the teacher was attempting to give instructions.
		The teacher responded with "Cut that out! When I say stop, we stop!"

TIME	BEHAVIOUR	ENVIRONMENT
1:40	Harry dismantled his instrument and took it back to his room. He joined the other members of his class in the French lesson.	The music lesson for this group was over.

He enjoys French too!

TWO RURAL SCHOOLS

K. E. Gilliss

This study consists primarily of the observations recorded in two contrasting rural schools, with particular emphasis on a third-year class in each school. The observer, an official of the New Brunswick Teachers' Association who spent one full week in each of the schools, interviewed the principals and carried out informal discussions with the teachers, in addition to observing the interaction of the teacher and pupils in each of the selected classrooms.

It should be noted that in this province, and particularly in the rural schools of the province, poverty and affluence frequently rub shoulders. It would be extremely difficult to find a school in which the students are either entirely wealthy or entirely poor. In fact, the generally depressed economic status of the province tends to rule out any concentration of wealth in any particular community. Hence it was difficult to select schools which would be representative of the extremes, particularly since in recent years the provincial government has assumed responsibility for the financing of all public school education. Some years ago the extremes would have been more greatly pronounced.

Despite these limitations, the schools selected represent the contrasting situations of an older school with a fairly traditional philosophy and outlook in a community which is largely poor, and a newer school with a reasonably progressive outlook in a farming community which in general is not poor, although not affluent. The schools are roughly comparable in terms of level, size and staff commitment to professional responsibilities. At least theoretically they operate on similar school budgets, although the observational reports will disclose considerable differences in terms of plant, facilities and equipment. Both schools include poor children in their student populations, School A having a preponderance of poor children and School B having a minority of poor children.

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In each instance the observer attempts to record factual data. One difficulty in this respect is to isolate relevant observations from irrelevant ones. Another difficulty is to generalize in any way from the recorded observations. Obviously the teacher variable, the pupil variable, the philosophical variable and the plant, equipment and facilities variable greatly influence the learning situation in any given school or classroom. Moreover, the observer himself is not independent of his own background and experience and no doubt is influenced by these in his selection of experiences to record. Since, however, the same observer recorded both reports, he would be unlikely to introduce a further variable into one situation or the other.

SCHOOL A

School A, to which this report gives the fictitious name of Glengarry Elementary School, is located between two fairly small towns, neither of which is in any way prosperous. The area in which the school is located is decidedly poor. Most of the houses are substandard, many consisting of a single room or pair of rooms. Exteriors are most unattractive, consisting of weathered boards or shingles, tarpaper or asphalt paper. Lots are tiny and the houses are crowded together on a collection of narrow streets.

The school also serves families in a better financial situation, living in neat and attractive frame houses along the highway linking the two towns. The majority of students, however, live in the type of accommodations outlined in the previous paragraph. In addition to the problems arising from such poor accommodations, many of these children suffer the disadvantages resulting from broken homes, shiftless parents and the philosophy of the perennial welfare recipient.

Pupils live within easy walking distance of the school and only on special occasions remain at school for lunch. The teachers, however, all stay for lunch. They also tend to remain for a considerable period after school and often detain pupils for special help or because they have not completed work to the teachers' satisfaction.

The school keeps parents informed through regular formal report cards and occasional notes sent home by teachers. After a set of report cards has been sent home, a special opportunity is given for parents to visit the school and discuss their children's achievement with the teachers. Many parents, however, do not take advantage of this arrangement. Some have no contact at all with the schools and others call the teacher regularly to complain about the teacher's or other children's treatment of their son or daughter.

The School Grounds and Building

Glengarry Elementary School is situated on a fairly large, but rather barren lot. A narrow street forms the boundary near one end of the building. A wider street marks the front boundary. There is ample playground space, however, adequate for games of ball, tag, or just running. At this particular time the playground is covered with ice. There is no evidence of special playground equipment.

The school, the original part of which is fifteen years old, is of frame construction, the exterior covered with asbestos siding. It is a one-storey building with a raised basement which permits use of the excavated portion. There are two entries at the front of the building, one to the original section and one to the addition, which is nine years old. The school serves 214 elementary pupils. It is strictly graded and its philosophy largely traditional, although on occasion it has promoted pupils in mid-year because they were much in advance of the other students in their class. Of the nine teachers, eight regular and one (music) part-time, only the principal has a degree. She teaches (almost full time) at the senior elementary level. Occasionally the district art coordinator comes to the school and teaches art. Otherwise the regular classroom teacher does so.

The pupil population is stable, with only the occasional transfer, and the attendance rate is good (95 - 96%). Illness is the major reason for absences. Occasionally a student is kept home to look after other children, but this is a rare occurrence. The teacher population, all female, is far from stable. In fact, the principal says that it is difficult to get teachers to remain in the school. This year, for example, there are four new teachers, all in their first year of teaching. The principal has been teaching for thirty years, another teacher for twenty-five and the remainder between five and fifteen years.

No social workers are attached to the school, although during the current school year there have been a number of case conferences, visits by social and welfare workers and visits by regional guidance officers. There is no library or librarian; there are no teacher-aides or parent volunteers. A public health nurse is available from time to time. A reading consultant comes to the school on a fairly regular basis, as do general district supervisors. The teachers do not serve on joint committees with teachers from the junior high schools or high schools of the district, but they meet in monthly in-service training sessions, conducted largely by the teachers themselves.

Children are normally assigned to classes on a random basis, although this year nearly all of the repeaters in grade 3 were assigned to one class -- the one observed -- in the hope that they might perform better if they were treated as a unit. Within the classes children are allocated to groups on the basis of achievement, particularly in reading and mathematics. There are no special remedial classes but the teachers make every effort to help children who need special help.

The school building is particularly clean for a building its age, since the janitor takes pride in keeping it that way. (He told the observer that he has taken steps to see that the children remove any marks they deliberately put on walls or floors; the teachers have also told the observer that the janitor gets cooperation from the children.) It is reasonably well lighted, painted in pastel shades, but somehow dreary, in spite of the attempts by the teachers to dress it up by hanging pictures in the entries and hanging pictures in the classrooms. The floors are of linoleum tile, the classrooms almost identical. Most classrooms are situated on the ground floor, but two regular classrooms, the French/Art Room, two washrooms, a kitchen and the partial auditorium (Music Room) are located in the basement. There are no rooms for special equipment or materials, a few audio-visual materials being kept in the principal's small office. The staircases to the basement (one at each end of the building) are narrow. The basement walls and floor are of cement, painted in dark shades, although the classrooms in the basement are finished in painted plaster board similar to those on the ground floor.

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION AT GLENGARRY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (SCHOOL A)

Class: Grade 3A

Students: 22 -- 14 boys, 8 girls
Repeaters: 9 -- some also repeated an earlier grade
Passes Mid-Year: 15 -- 8 boys, 7 girls
Failures Mid-Year: 7 -- 6 boys, 1 girl

Teacher: Miss Susan Brown -- a first-year teacher, competent, enthusiastic, concerned.

This report gives a detailed record of events in and related to the classroom during the first day, after which it includes only those highlights which particularly impressed the observer. Brief reference is made to patterns of procedure or behaviour which appeared to develop during the week and a brief general summary concludes the report.

The Classroom

The classroom is of good size and well lighted, with tile floor and plasterboard walls, painted an off-white shade. The teacher's desk, with chalkboard behind it, is situated on one long wall. Over the chalkboard are written samples of lower case and capital letters and over them a timetable. Along this wall there is also an open wardrobe for the children's outer clothing. Over the wardrobe is a caption entitled "Good Food" and under this a number of coloured pictures of food, some apparently cut from magazines, others obtained from commercial advertising. Beside these pictures is a chart showing cartoon figures and a number of rules of language usage.

The adjoining wall has a map of the province, some art work, a bulletin board and a two-dimensional model of a building, with the caption over it reading "Our Helpers" and the interchangeable names of various students and their tasks in the classroom placed on the diagram. Beside it is a perpetual calendar, which a different child adds to each day, showing the date and the weather conditions. A portion of this wall is taken up with shelves containing supplementary reading books and class library books.

The wall opposite the teacher's desk is a complete window wall. The adjoining, and last wall, has a full-width chalkboard, with letters, number groupings and symbols above it. The desks are movable, arranged informally in three major groups. In one corner is a collection of small tables and chairs, in the opposite corner, a small table with a record player and in another corner, a large table surrounded by chairs. On the table are bookends and a collection of books, as well as a number of games, puzzles and small toys. Next to this is a small table with a variety of art materials, rock collections, flash cards and magazines.

Monday, January 12, 1970

Pre-Class Period

Miss Brown, near the desk, greets the pupils, helps them with outer clothing, sends them to their seats. Students chat, open desks, take out books. Some arrive with toys and games. Miss Brown asks Ricky if he is feeling better. When he replies that he is, she asks for a written excuse, which he retrieves from a book and takes to her desk. One girl, Barbara, shows a pretty doll to the class and refers to her sister's broken watch.

First Class -- Reading

Chalkboards were prepared in advance, with questions related to the reading assignments in each of the reading groups. Miss Brown: "Rabbits, take out your readers, please. The others, review your reading lessons." Miss Brown proceeds with a review of new words, vowel sounds, syllabication and paragraphs. She checks with individual children on knowledge of paragraphs, makes reference to other stories previously read, singles out one student to read a few sentences, provides any necessary help. Few students volunteer answers. Some offer contributions re suffixes and prefixes.

While Miss Brown works with the "Rabbits", the "Horses" and "Monkeys" look at their reading texts. One group is very quiet and busy. In the other group two children are talking quietly, two others are trying to attract the teacher's attention and one boy appears to be completely disinterested. Before Miss Brown leaves the "Rabbits", some children are already bringing up their notebooks to show her the answers they have completed for the questions on the board. She offers an opinion in each case on the quality of the answer and stresses the use of complete sentences rather than single-word answers.

At approximately 9:20 Miss Brown moves to a new group, sits down in the group and asks one little girl to read. Children from the "Rabbit" group come to show their work. To one child Miss Brown says: "O.K. Put your book on my desk and read in your library book." The child returns to his seat, takes out his book and reads silently.

Eddie lounges over his desk; he seems only slightly interested.

Miss Brown, to a child in the first group, "Vince, are you working?"

Miss Brown, a few minutes later, to a boy in the "Rabbits" group: "Are you chewing gum? Put it away." And then to the "Rabbits", she says, "You may take a library book when you are finished."

Each child in the "Horses" group reads orally in turn. Miss Brown helps. Sometimes others in the group prompt a child who pauses or hesitates. Miss Brown: "Good reading Tony. You must have practised that on the weekend." Tony nods, apparently pleased at the teacher's praise. She then commends the total group (slower readers) for their reading and comments that they must have practised over the weekend.

They then complete the reading discussion. Miss Brown urges one child to finish his exercise. Two in the first group play their own private game of pushing hands. The third group simply appears to be waiting.

Miss Brown: "Let's all take our spellers." At this point there is some confusion. Two children, however, pass out notebooks which have apparently been collected earlier. Miss Brown: "John, you're supposed to be studying your spelling for a few minutes."

Miss Brown: "Let's close our books. Today is January 12. Nancy, you should stay at recess or lunch time and houseclean your desk." She then proceeds to dictate spelling words, using each in a sentence showing its meaning. The children write the words.

Miss Brown: "Not that 'road', Vince. 'Rode' a horse." A few minutes later she says: "Barbara, put your shoes on, please."

Mathematics

Miss Brown takes one group for multiplication. She writes multiplication problems on the board, adds new problems, more advanced multiplication ones, and explains, particularly to Ann, who doesn't understand.

Out of the blue one child volunteers the information that yesterday his grandfather had a birthday and was eighty-six. Miss Brown asks if they had a cake and party and he replies that they did.

Washroom Break

Miss Brown lines the class up and they proceed to the washrooms downstairs. The children move quickly and quietly. On their return Miss Brown calls the class to order. They sit down and for a few minutes there is a brief open discussion on general matters. They discuss skating and the possibility of having a class skating party. No definite decision is reached.

Writing Period

They take writing books and work page 14 together. Miss Brown checks their progress, pointing out "small" letters where "big" letters should be and letters which go above or below the lines. (There appears to be a wide variety of writing accomplishment.)

She then admonishes various children for the quality of their written work and insists that they make major corrections. She becomes a little less patient at this point and makes some negative comments. However, she does say, "Good writing, Randy, but look here. You can do better than that." There is some evidence that many of the children don't really care about writing. One boy borrows an eraser and does a portion over, but he is lackadaisical in his attitude. Miss Brown checks dotted i's and stroked t's and informs the class that when they finish they are to place their copybooks on her desk, which they do.

Miss Brown: "Ray, you are pencil man." (Ray collects pencils and sharpens them.) She adds, "Chris, what are you doing over there?" Chris returns to his seat.

Recess

At this point they proceed to recess. Some children return to class and begin reading books from shelves in the back of the room. Others take the various games and begin playing. In most cases they play group games -- chess, Sorry, monopoly. In some instances they choose solitary games. One boy uses a stencil set to draw. Some of the girls dress paper dolls.

New Reading Period

(Miss Brown has told this observer that she is concerned about reading. She feels there is a definite weakness and is particularly concerned about her "slow readers", many of whom are repeaters.)

At this point desks and chairs are rearranged into new groups. Miss Brown sits with one of these, consisting of five boys and four girls, for oral reading. The other groups write answers to questions based on their reading selections. (Miss Brown has put new questions on boards during recess period.) The special group moves to the board with Miss Brown, where they deal with new words, accents, spelling.

The other groups have finished their written work and find other things to do. Miss Brown tells Ricky and Tony to take their seats. (They are obviously ready to go to music class.)

Miss Brown: "Girls, line up quietly for music." One boy seeks help from her and is told that she will help him when he returns from music. The boys line up behind the girls and with Miss Brown go to the music room -- a portion of the basement auditorium which has not been converted to a regular classroom.

Music

Miss Smith, the music teacher who visits the school two days a week, greets the children warmly but in a business-like fashion. As soon as they are seated she goes over the words and music of "We're All Together Again". They then sing the song, with Miss Smith accompanying on the piano and leading them in singing. Response is weak, particularly from the boys.

Miss Smith then refers to the "music ladder" and has the children sing the scales. One volunteers that he heard the scale song before, whereupon Miss Smith plays and sings the scale song from "The Sound of Music". The children then sing it with her, twice.

Miss Smith then outlines the nature of the country and the children who lived here long before we did. She mentions a poem they have read about Indians and reviews the words of the poem. She then selects a child, apparently at random but one with some muscular and psychomotor disorder which causes him difficulty in school work, as Indian Chief, who will accompany the singing on the drum.

Miss Smith: "Indians sat up straight. They didn't slouch."

They proceed with the song.

Miss Smith later says: "Sit up straight like those Indian braves or you'll be sent off the reservation."

Miss Smith then selects a girl to be Indian princess and play the drum. She asks how Indians danced but receives little response, has them form two circles and dance to a fairly steady drum beat and piano music. They pick up the rhythm and improve slightly.

The children then return to their seats. The teacher discusses mice, asks if they like mice and then sings and plays a mouse song. The children repeat with the teacher. (A number do not seem interested.)

Miss Smith says that last week they marched from the room to marching music and this week they will walk from the room to walking music. She adds "We'll see you next week." They form a single file and walk from the room, back up the narrow staircase to their classroom.

In their own classroom they return to their desks and take up their work. In a few minutes one group is ready to leave for lunch, walking quietly from the room, saying "Good morning, teacher," or "Good morning, Miss Brown." The remainder finish their assignments, ask a few questions, put on their outer clothing and leave as they are ready. Miss Brown helps some with scarves, others with zippers, and reminds some to put up their hoods, since it is cold.

She speaks sharply to Vince C. (the older and bigger boy with the poor coordination) who has done poor work. "Correct it", she says. He slaps his notebook on the desk but then asks how to spell a word he has already copied incorrectly from the board. Miss Brown refers him to it and spells it with him. Eventually all children leave for lunch.

Lunch Break

The teachers remain in school but the children all leave. (All live within easy walking distance. There are no school buses.) The teachers eat their lunch in the basement kitchen and return to their rooms to check notebooks, prepare chalkboards or get materials assembled for afternoon classes.

The children begin returning in slightly less than a half hour. Many remain outside and play on the icy playground. There are no organized sports or physical education programs and no equipment. Some go directly to their classroom and play with games, read or "plague" the teacher. Many of Miss Brown's children seem to seek constant attention, which she gives readily.

First Afternoon Session

The teacher has agreed that the children may bring toys and show them to the class. One shows an art set, another an expensive monkey puppet with long rich fur and then they pass these around so that each child may examine them. In the meantime Miss Brown reads the story of the "Animals' Picnic" and follows it with general discussion. She asks if the children have ever had a picnic and a number say that they have. She stresses the importance of sharing with others and they agree that the animals had a fine picnic, since each ate what he liked and each contributed. This leads to a recounting of the children's experiences. Tony says that he sometimes goes on a picnic by himself. (Tony is well dressed and perhaps spoiled. He tends to remain somewhat aloof from the others. However, Tony has brought the book which Miss Brown read.)

Mathematics Period

The class begins a mathematics period. The topic for one group is money, the concepts counting, adding, grouping, sets. Only the textbooks and the chalkboards are used -- no concrete or special materials. The approach is rather one of rote. Miss Brown puts equations, using grouping by sets, on the board and the children give chorus answers to her questions. A number appear bored. Not all seem to be following.

Specific questions to individuals indicate that some do not understand. Miss Brown explains to these. The slower group is working in the same text but a number of pages behind.

Reading Group

There is a brief break while some get a drink and others go to the washroom. On their return Miss Brown directs most of the class to work exercises in math while she takes a small (poor readers) group to a corner of the room. They begin reading orally with help from Miss Brown or occasional prompting from one another.

The ones working problems occasionally go to Miss Brown for help. While she helps them, the reading group stops activity and waits. One boy in this group, Gary, has his book on his knee, his head almost on his book. (Miss Brown later explained that he is a repeater who must be constantly reminded to work. Otherwise, she said, he will daydream.)

Miss Brown says, "Hurry up, Paul." Paul seems to have difficulty concentrating and Miss Brown regularly reminds him to work. The mathematics groups are now working quietly and industriously. Paul is the exception. Miss Brown again tells him to go on with his work. At the end of the reading session Miss Brown assigns reading to be studied at home. The reading program appears to be an assignment-recitation type of program. The children appear to agree with the amount of material to be read for next day.

Miss Brown moves the reading group to the chalkboard, where she writes new words and goes over them with the group. The group answers specific questions which tie the reading lesson to a general language development program. The work deals primarily with vowels and syllables.

Eddie, one of the children working math, asks Miss Brown if he has to work beyond page 85. When she tells him that he does not, he closes his text, puts it in his desk and asks Miss Brown if he may get a book. "Sit still for a minute, please," she responds. He then lies across his desk and smiles at Tony, who is still working. Miss Brown continues with the language group. Paul plays with his notebook. Chris has stopped working but has his textbook still open in front of him.

Miss Brown reminds the reading group that their assignment consists of the next three pages. She tells Gary, Randy and Germaine to remain after class for help with their reading. She helps Ann, in the mathematics group, with her work, tells her to continue. Barbara, who has completed her math problems, comes to the back of the room and plays briefly with the monkey. Miss Brown tells her to come to her seat, then asks her to write tomorrow's lessons on the board.

Miss Brown helps Ann with a problem, corrects Eddie for wasting paper and reminds him that his father has to buy scribblers for a number of children. Miss Brown tells Eddie that she wants to check his scribbler tonight.

Miss Brown reviews the multiplication table by fives. She writes the table on the board, has the children add by fives, by tens, by tens plus units. She checks with Vince S., who has missed some time, suggests he do an earlier exercise at home, which he says he will do, checks with Ricky, who says he can finish the exercise at home, and assigns math to the second group. She tells Angela to come early in the morning for help.

She picks up more scribblers to mark, has Stephen put the date and page on his work, tells Tony to "get rid of those lines," reminds the class that notebooks should be neat. The children ask questions and volunteer special information. She tells one group that she will have a special mimeographed sheet for them tomorrow. (This is a group, slow in math, which is using a text easier than that used by the others. The mimeographed sheets adapt the textbook further for them.)

Two children, Paul and Ann, want to remain to work math. Miss Brown agrees to help them. Two boys and one girl, Gary, Randy and Germaine, stay, as directed earlier, for help with reading. The others leave, saying "Good afternoon, Miss Brown."

The remedial period lasts for about forty-five minutes and the two girls help straighten up the classroom and clean the boards. School is then over for grade 3 for Monday, January 12, 1970.

Tuesday, January 13, 1970

It should be noted here that, although a formal timetable listing specific subjects and periods is displayed prominently in the classroom, Miss Brown has increased the time spent on mathematics, language and reading and has decreased the time spent on other activities.

Miss Brown says that they may take a library book. Each does. Some read carefully; others appear to look at the pictures only and then exchange the book for another. Many make comments; for example, "This book has too many words. Teacher, what is that word?" Miss Brown has the child sound out the word. She moves on to another, checking what each is reading.

Vince C., who has the problem of coordination and concentration, says he can't find a book. Miss Brown suggests one on riddles. He glances at it and starts back to the table. Miss Brown suggests that he hasn't read it yet and asks him to ask her a riddle. He tries but doesn't succeed. Miss Brown then suggests that he read from his reader. There follows a substantial period of free reading, quietly carried on.

Miss Brown suggests that they take out their spellers, and look at the words for a few minutes. She directs Anne Marie and Germaine to pass out the notebooks. There is some confused milling about, with a number of students going to the front of the room to sharpen pencils. Miss Brown asks Roy if he forgot to sharpen pencils last night. He nods.

She then dictates words to be written in the notebooks. She also gives a series of multiplication table problems to be written also. Following this some children volunteer information on a variety of local current events -- a man died at the hockey game, a man was shot, there was an interesting television program.

Miss Brown asks Vince S. if he is still taking medicine and if he is feeling better. He answers yes to both questions. She urges the class to be neat, after examining one child's book and comparing it with another in which the work was carelessly done. She helps Ricky, then Angela, with their work. She permits John to go out for a drink, tells Ann that recess will be in a few minutes, and fails to notice Nancy, who is attempting to get her attention. She answers a few general questions, asks Roy to sharpen the pencils, tells Paul and Eddie to sit down, asks Randy if he hasn't nearly finished, and tells the class to hold up their pencils if they want them sharpened. The class then breaks for recess.

After recess the class continues working problems in mathematics. For a few minutes a number of children cluster around Miss Brown. Germaine shows her her finger. Miss Brown says she will put a band-aid on it and tells Germaine not to pick at it. She carries on a brief discussion with the children and then tells them to work. She takes Germaine out of the room, admonishing the class not to talk. The children work quietly while she is gone. When she returns, she takes a reading group to the reading corner and proceeds as she did the day before. As before a number of the others come to her for help.

At this point there is some commotion in the corridor. The principal passes, pushing a boy from grade 6 ahead of her to her office. There is the sound of strapping. Two or three children pause briefly but then continue with their work. The others ignore the event. (This observer later learned that the principal stopped two grade 6 boys from fighting in the corridor and pushed them into line. One boy -- the one who received the strapping -- had called her some vulgar names to which she took exception.)

The oral reading group continues. Germaine has a serious reading problem and Miss Brown attempts to help her in the traditional way, which does not appear to remedy the situation. Miss Brown threatens to "bump" Paul, who, instead of working math, is bumping his desk against the one in front. Paul shows little or no reaction to this remark. John and Eddie take their completed exercises to the teacher's desk. Miss Brown tells them to take out their readers. She answers Germaine's question, smiles at two or three comments from the reading group and asks Gary if he does not read to his Mom. He shakes his head. She asks if he has nobody to read to and again he shakes his head.

The others are still working quietly at math.

The reading group leaves the reading corner and accompanies Miss Brown to the board. She goes over new words, final "y" endings and the pronunciation of "th" sounds. She tells Barbara that if she has finished her math she may put her work on the desk. Barbara puts her work on the teacher's desk, goes to the back of the room, takes the book of riddles to her seat and begins to read. Miss Brown deals with suffixes, other word constructions, spelling and usage.

Elaine, having finished her math, goes to the back of the room and watches the activity at the board. Miss Brown tells the language group to return to their seats and to return to working math problems.

Miss Brown at 11:30 says: "Let's have the 'Rabbits' for reading now. Barbara would you take down the decorations; I'm tired looking at them -- just those back of the table with the art supplies."

The "Rabbits" carry on their oral reading. A number of others ask to go for a drink, which Miss Brown permits, although they must go successively. Miss Brown tells Vince C. that he read well for her earlier this morning and has him sit next to her. She tells Barbara and Kimberley to check the spelling and multiplication tables in the notebooks. They go to her desk, affix stars on correct work, mark errors and the number thereof on each piece of work. She assigns the reading lesson for tomorrow and they leave for lunch.

Tuesday afternoon

Most of the children arrive early, Tony with an eight-volume picture dictionary, which he places with other reference books on a table at the rear. Ricky V. arrives with a guitar, over which the teacher and the other children exclaim. Miss Brown has Ricky put the guitar carefully in the corner at the front of the room.

Miss Brown reads aloud a portion of a story about a fresh air camp established in the country for poor city children. The story appears to be highly moralistic, indicating the virtues of hard work and concern for others. There is some discussion. Miss Brown passes the book around so that all may see two pictures. A discussion follows, but the teacher must work hard to get a response. (Most children showed little or no emotion as the story was read. A few smiled at a humorous incident, but most did not.)

The language period, for the whole class, is on the use of "helping words" and the correct use of "saw" and "seen". They can give the correct form in sentences suggested by the teacher. (It is interesting to note, however, that they use these forms incorrectly on other occasions.) Miss Brown directs them to do the exercises she has written on the board. (Put the correct form of saw and seen in the blank spaces.) She also reminds the class of the importance of using question marks and capital letters. Seats are rearranged so all may see the board.

Miss Brown comes back and closes Chris' math book, saying: "We are not doing math now!"

Since the "Monkeys" have been reading The Young Cowboy, Miss Brown has written a number of questions on the board concerning or deriving from the story. She leads the "Monkeys" into answering questions concerning ponies and the chief character in the story. These lead into those written on the board. She leaves them with the assignment.

Miss Brown has a student pass out mimeographed sheets to all children and explains the language exercises. She has the group answer one section of each question. In the meantime she praises John for his "lovely writing", tells Nancy to do some reading at home, since she has done all the exercises assigned, and replies that she will knit Ann a pair of slippers if Ann brings her the yarn.

She then takes the third group for reading. Vince C. checks with her on the exercise. He has marked the wrong answer, although he knows the right one.

At 2:15 all are working; some on math, some on language, some on the mimeographed sheets. Barbara is knitting, her written assignments completed. Miss Brown urges Gary and Paul to work. Then Barbara comes to the back of the room and forms words from the commercial letter groups available.

In science period Miss Brown briefly reviews plants -- how they grow, seeds, root and stem formation, leaf formation. She elicits this information by a series of questions.

Miss Brown: "I'll separate you two. Turn around, Ricky."

They continue with science, discussing the reasons why plants don't grow in the winter, a radio and a television program on gardening, how to plant and grow things. (There are a few plants in the classroom, which Miss Brown has the children care for regularly.) They discuss fertilizer and its use also, relating it to food for people. They discuss the harm fertilizer will do if it gets in the eyes, the quantities to use, the size, shape and colour of seeds and the different types of plants. (Anne Marie suggests that hair spray is no better for the eyes than fertilizer.)

Miss Brown: "Could you draw a plant yourselves?" Chorus: "Yes".

"Then I'd like you to draw a plant and tell how it grows. What would you say first?" She writes the answer. Two children are assigned to pass out scrap books, in which they draw and glue pictures. Some go to the rear of the room to find appropriate pictures.

Miss Brown helps Randy (still working on mimeographed sheet dealing with sounds). She tells him that he doesn't know because he doesn't pay attention when she explains at the board.

Now Miss Brown writes tomorrow's lessons on the board. She also tells two pupils to stay for writing and two to stay for spelling. There is some general confusion prior to dismissal. Pupils resume seats when Miss Brown says that they will not be permitted to leave until they are quiet. Miss Brown asks Ricky to show his guitar, whether he can play it, where he got it. (He can't play it and states that he got it from his brother.) Vince C. volunteers to play. His attempt is unsatisfactory, even though the pupils point out that he is a good singer.

Miss Brown chastises Eddie for shooting a pencil across the room. "You were a good boy early in the year," she says. "What happened?" Eddie colours and appears hurt. Most of the others go; but some stay for reading and some stay for writing. Those who stay for writing go to the board. Those who stay for reading read orally for Miss Brown. The second day is over (although the observer questions Miss Brown after the students leave).

Wednesday, January 14, 1970

Children arrive with old shirts, smocks, aprons, in preparation for art period. On Tuesday, Miss Brown told them to come prepared so that they would not get paint on their clothes. A few forgot. John says that he is wearing his old shirt anyway so it doesn't matter. (He has worn the same shirt on Monday and Tuesday.)

The class moves to the art room -- a classroom converted from a section of the former basement auditorium. There are rows of desks in the centre of the room and four large (4' x 8') tables, covered with heavy paper, along the walls. A variety of colours of water paints have been poured into the individual sections of egg crates. Two crates of paints, a number of long paint brushes and jars of clean water have been placed on each table.

Before leaving the classroom Miss Brown passed out the 12" x 10" sheets the students worked on the previous week. The children had used a variety of drawings and had glued a variety of thin oblongs of plywood (each containing a hole) on the paper to make various compositions. One has three rabbits, many have boats and fish, some have created human figures in various positions and groupings. (The wooden ovals have been split in some instances to help create the composition.) There appears to be a wide range of creativity and ability.

Miss Brown assigns control functions to a number of the children -- distributing materials, cleaning brushes after the session, emptying the jars, replacing the paints, replacing glue bottles. She then has the children go to the tables, approximately the same number at each, and tells them they may talk quietly while they work. The children are happy and excited and work enthusiastically. Miss Brown checks their use of materials, asks about paintings, offers suggestions.

As the period progresses, many of the children make more and more extravagant use of paints. Early compositions practically disappear under the enthusiastic application of new colours. Some get nearly as much paint on themselves as on their work and Gary paints both sides of his sheet. When a pupil finishes, he is told to take a seat, place his painting on the desk and sit quietly. Paul does the minimum amount of work and finishes early. A number finish a short time later. Some continue painting as long as possible. Finally Miss Brown tells the helpers to take jars and brushes out to the kitchen and wait for her. She urges Gary and Chris to finish. In a few moments Ann comes back to say that Vince C. spilled paint all over the kitchen. Miss Brown rushes to the kitchen and speaks quite loudly to Vince. Those not working sit in their seats and chat. Vince S. seems concerned lest they not be allowed to paint again.

After the cleanup period the class returns to the classroom with their paintings. Miss Brown asks Roy K. to help her spread them out to dry. She then tells the children to remove their smocks and overshirts and place them in the closet and go to the washroom to wash up.

Today Miss Brown tells the group that it is not too cold for them to play outside. They get dressed and leave. Soon a few come back in, remove their outer clothing and take games. Some of the others slide on an icy incline just back of the school. A number huddle close to the building and talk. A few boys run around. When the bell rings, they return to their classrooms. Miss Brown tells one boy to straighten the boots, the others to sit down and Barbara to put her shoes on.

Miss Brown refers the "Monkeys" to the written questions on the board. She asks a series of oral questions related to the written ones, encouraging oral answers in depth, rather than simple ones, and all answers in sentences. She then tells them to write a story about a cowboy or a cowgirl, telling what they do, where they live. She suggests that the pupils have probably seen a cowboy movie or play on television and suggests that they look at corrections she has made in their notebooks before they begin writing.

In the meantime the other groups sit in their seats and look at another series of questions on the board or study their reading texts. Miss Brown tells Ricky V. to keep up the good work, that she corrected his work last night and it was "lovely".

The Social Studies period, given to all at the same time, deals with Eskimos. Miss Brown begins by asking where Eskimos live, what their homes are like, the difference between their summer and winter homes, what they wear, what they eat, how they travel. She asks about their physical characteristics and in general their way of life. When she asks if anyone can draw an igloo, two or three raise their hands. She tells Barbara to go to the board and draw it. When Barbara is finished, Tony says that her drawing is wrong. Miss Brown asks him to go to the board and draw it the way he thinks is right. He draws a side elevation showing the entry tunnel, which did not show in Barbara's drawing. Some of the children state that both drawings are right, but Barbara's is seen from the front, while Tony's is seen from the side.

Miss Brown leads the group in discussing how the igloo is heated. She then moves on to the changing nature of Eskimo life, particularly in respect to work, transportation, clothing. (Paul appears disinterested. He sits with his fingers in his mouth.) When the discussion is finished, Miss Brown passes out mimeographed sheets showing an igloo, a kayak, a caribou, a seal, a harpoon, a spear and a k-matik. There is no name under the harpoon and Eddie tells the class what it is. Others then print the name, after which all place the sheet in their scrapbooks (which were handed out by two children during the discussion). Miss Brown suggests that they might colour the pictures later. She lines the class up to go to music, but pulls Vince C. out of line and has him wait till the others leave.

Music class is similar to that recorded on Monday. The children afterwards come back to the classroom, ask the teacher some questions and leave for lunch.

Wednesday Afternoon

As soon as the children are settled, Miss Brown reads an excerpt from a story, asks some questions and shows the illustrative pictures to the class. She then has them work on math. She moves from desk to desk checking all work done. She praises here, admonishes there and helps somewhere else. She sends Paul, who is invariably very dirty, to wash his hands. (When he comes back, the hands are not much cleaner.) She gives some special instruction to the slowest group and then continues to give general help to all groups. Paul is chewing his shirt collar. He is behind in his work (although he appears bright and often answers intelligently) and has done nothing for the last fifteen minutes.

Miss Brown returns to her own desk, makes some general comments and then writes tomorrow's lessons on the board. (This procedure of writing lesson assignments on the board is apparently followed in all classrooms in the school.) She then tells the children to get ready to leave. Two stay for a few minutes' help and soon everyone is gone. Miss Brown and this observer spend a few minutes checking cumulative records (examined earlier) and discussing the progress and problems of the children. She admits that at times she could cry, since no matter what she does some children cannot seem to improve. The cumulative record cards indicate that most children have five or six brothers and sisters and three have over ten.

Thursday, January 15, 1970

Ricky V. comes to the front of the room (beaming) and tells Miss Brown that his sister had "two twins last night". Miss Brown points out that we say "twins", not "two twins" because "twins" means two. She then asks Ricky whether they were boys or girls.

"Boys", he replies, "Now I am an uncle three times." He adds: "My mother was sure surprised. She didn't expect my sister to have twins -- and my sister isn't even married.

Barbara: "Teacher, everyone at my house is sick except me."

Miss Brown reads from the book she has been reading to the class. She tells Vince C. and Eddie to put the puzzle away. She continues to read, then stops and asks the children what they think might happen -- she gets a variety of answers to the question, but the answers lead some to volunteer information on pets they have at home. Miss Brown resumes reading and the whole class pays close attention, as they learn the solution to the mystery.

Spelling class is similar to others. Miss Brown moves Paul up near her desk. A number of children make comments. (The same ones seem to do this often -- Barbara, Eddie, Vince C., Nancy.) Miss Brown tells Ricky V. and Gary to erase poor writing and do it over. She comments on the good writing in Chris' book. Chris says his mother did it. Eddie says that his mother doesn't write very well because she had to leave school in grade 2. Barbara says that Kimberly's mother must not be a good writer because Kimberly had to sign her own work. Miss Brown dictates very slowly and distinctly. She repeats often -- apparently for Gary's sake. She then lists a number of multiplication problems on the board and tells the class to do these also.

Miss Brown passes out three sets of mimeographed sheets containing language information and exercises -- one set to the "Monkeys", one to the "Rabbits" and one to the "Horses". She has Chris pass out "Think and Do" books (workbooks to accompany readers) to the "Rabbits" and then has the group go to the board with their books. She tells the "Horses" to copy an exercise from the board and begin working it. The "Monkeys" are working at the mimeographed sheets. She does some language work with the "Rabbits", goes over samples from the exercise in their workbooks, has them sit down and complete exercises -- among which is a crossword puzzle to be completed. Eddie asks for help with "2 down". He gets it. Miss Brown moves to the "Monkeys", has them read orally and tells Vince C. that his reading is very good.

After recess Miss Brown continues the reading session with the "Monkeys". She tells the "Rabbits" to go over their reading if they have finished their "Think and Do" exercises, suggests that Barbara could see the board more easily if she moved to a desk. (She has been sitting at a small table in the corner.)

Germaine, who is ill, leaves at 11:10 a.m.

The children in the "Rabbits" group read successively. Following this, each tells a story or incident about an animal or animals. The stories are quite good. Miss Brown leads them into a discussion of behaviour and concern for others. All participate. She ignores Barbara (from another group) who attempts to get her attention. The group then moves to the board, goes over new words.

Thursday Afternoon

Tony shows a medallion commemorating the moon landing. The others examine it. Several come to the rear of the room and examine the picture dictionary. They show extreme interest in almost anything that is pictured. Some have remarkable knowledge of animals, ships, flags and the like. Some of the others are looking at books or just sitting in their seats.

Miss Brown assigns work to each of the groups -- the "Horses" to finish the exercise on the board, the "Monkeys" to finish the other exercise on the board and the "Rabbits" to work math. She tells Gary to do his math before he begins with his reading. She sits at her desk and tells them to come to her if they have trouble. Tony is told to do some work over; Vince is told that he took the questions down wrong; Randy is told to sit down.

There is an extensive period in which all children appear to be working. A number go to Miss Brown for help. She explains concepts and encourages them to arrive at their own answers to their questions. She then takes the "Horses" for reading while the others continue working their math or their language exercises. Some finish the exercises and work at the mimeographed sheets passed out this morning. The reading group goes to the board for a short language session, followed by some general discussion. A number come to the teacher for help. Finally, she permits the whole group to work while she prepares a few final notations on report cards, which are to be distributed at the end of the class.

When class is over she passes out the report cards. (Some who failed expected to do so and accept the situation.) Mis Brown says that those who failed can improve their work and pass next time. Barbara, who has ranked first, makes it a point to say so loudly and on three different occasions after receiving her report card. She later says that her brother stood only tenth, while she stood first. They leave.

Friday, January 16, 1970

The children arrive with their report cards, take them to the teacher's desk, go back to their desks and then read or play games for a few minutes. Miss Brown has Gary come up to her desk, where she asks him to spell the words studied for today. She has to help him with some words and then asks them over again.

Miss Brown then says: "Today's a special day. Do you know why?" The children offer a variety of suggestions as to why it is a special day. Then Miss Brown tells them that it is Germaine's birthday.

"Shall we sing Happy Birthday to You?" She asks.

"Yes", they answer. All except Germaine stand up and sing, then clap.

Miss Brown prepares to read again from the book from which she read yesterday. Before she begins, she asks if they remember what happened last day. She gets a variety of answers, all reasonably correct. She then continues the story and completes the chapter.

She selects a group of slow workers and has them occupy seats near her desk. She asks those whose seats are taken to move to tables or to other desks. She checks generally with the others to ensure that they know what they are to do, explains some new work to the fastest group and sets them to work.

Miss Brown returns to the slow group, has them put their pencils down and look at a series of "rules" for addition and subtraction. She then shows how to play the game "Guess the Rule". She tries some problems out with each of them in turn. She then has them work in pairs to play the game applying the rules. She explains further and, when everyone seems to understand, has them work the exercises. Twice she tells Nancy (in another group) to go on with her work and not pay attention to this group, since she has already completed these exercises. She checks some of their individual work, tells Paul to shut up and do his work and then moves to the other two groups.

She passes out individually marked file folders to these and tells them that they are to keep all their mimeographed sheets in them. She informs them that from time to time she will check the folders and the exercises and will assign marks on the quality of the work submitted. She points out that their daily work will be checked from now till Easter and that their next report card will be based on such work rather than on an examination.

Following the reading period, the class discusses the possibility of skating this afternoon. They are enthusiastic, although some children say that they have no skates. Some others say that they will lend them their brothers' or sisters' skates. Miss Brown says that those who do not bring skates or have them supplied may go to the other grade 3 class during the skating period. She reminds them to wear caps and mittens because it will be cold.

"Take out your spelling books and your 'Friday' (weekly test) books."

Miss Brown regroups her class and works with one group for a brief period. There is some scraping of desks, movement and confusion. Ray is looking at pictures in a small book; Vince S. is sitting with head resting on his hand; Barbara is standing by her desk.

Miss Brown dictates words. The children copy them in their "Friday" books. All children do the same exercise. Miss Brown collects the books, places them on the desk and asks Germaine and Anne Marie to pass out the writing books. While this is being done, John takes a piece of puzzle next door to Mrs. Black, Anne tidies up the table at the back of the room and a few children mill around. Miss Brown indicates in general terms the faults she has found in their writing. Teacher and students jointly arrive at a few rules to improve writing. She tells Barbara and Poy not to talk out loud and she demonstrates the correct way to form a number of letters. She checks posture and the positioning of writing materials on the desks. She points out an error to Tony and asks John to practise in another notebook.

After lunch Miss Brown reads to the class; later there is a general discussion. The story was about a boy who took a trip. Tony says that during the holidays he went to Toronto. Chris says that he went to Toronto too. A number of others tell of trips they took -- most of them for only a few miles and for only a short period. Miss Brown asks if anyone had gone to Expo. Ricky W., Germaine and John raise their hands. Kimberly says her cousins came from Toronto to visit her. Stephen says that he went to Nova Scotia and Nancy says that she went camping for a month. Elaine says that she once went to the beach and went swimming. Many do not, and obviously cannot contribute. For example, Gary states that his mother and father might take a trip next month for the first time in their lives.

Nancy asks if they are going skating at two o'clock. Miss Brown replies that they are if they get their work done.

There is then a short session during which the pupils work mathematics. There is an air of expectancy in the room and it appears that most pupils are having difficulty waiting for the skating period -- which is listed on the timetable as Physical Education. Eventually (considerably after two o'clock) Miss Brown tells them to put on their outer clothing and take their skates to the vestibule. They do so. Since Germaine has no skates, Miss Brown tells her to take a drawing book and go to Mrs. Black's class while the others are outside.

In the meantime, the children put on their skates, some helping others. Miss Brown also helps them, after looking after Germaine. Some of the skates don't fit well, but the children are enthusiastic anyway. Three of the boys, who have no skates, are permitted to go outside and slide. Soon everybody is out in the school yard. What they lack in finesse they certainly make up in enthusiasm. A few are timid. Anne Marie, who skates very well, assists Vince C., who is extremely nervous. (After a short time he is exulting that he can skate.) Paul is perhaps the best skater and shows much more interest in skating than he did in schoolwork at any time this week.

Miss Brown supervises, occasionally tightening a loose skate, helping a child to his feet after a fall or admonishing the more adept not to run into the novices. Prior to the bell for dismissal, she has them come back into the school and remove their skates. She tells a number of pupils to remain for reading and a few to remain for spelling. The pupils then leave successively as they are ready.

Summary

The class appears to consist of three distinct groups, the overage (repeater) group, which uses a different set of readers and adapted mathematics materials, a slightly below average and an average group. Within these groups, however, there is obviously a wide range of interests and talents. Only a few appear to enjoy their schoolwork. Nevertheless they all appear to respond well to the teacher, many constantly seeking her attention.

Although the class might be described as a traditional graded one, there is considerable evidence that Miss Brown recognizes individuality and attempts to provide for it. It would appear, however, that the class (and probably the school) would benefit greatly from a remedial program, running parallel to the regular program and conducted by experts who could diagnose and correct learning problems. It could also profit from better facilities and equipment, particularly a library and resources centre, which could partially compensate for the lack of "normal" learning experiences in many of the homes. (Miss Brown has stated that many of the children have no home access to conversation, magazines, books or concrete learning materials.)

SCHOOL B

School B, to which this report refers by the fictitious name of Rosedale Elementary School, is located near a small village in a fairly prosperous (by New Brunswick standards) farming area. There is a small food-processing industry in the village; but most of the students come from the surrounding farming areas, since the village has its own school. A number of students live in inferior houses clustered together about three-quarters of a mile from the school and about the same distance from the village. In this particular section there is considerable poverty and a great number of families subsist on welfare payments. Nevertheless, the school and community authorities make every effort to overcome the known disadvantages such children suffer. For example, the school staff and principal work closely with officials of the provincial Department of Health and Welfare and with voluntary welfare organizations. The school staff operates a clothing centre, which quietly provides good used clothing to children requiring it.

All pupils are transported to the school by school bus, except a few who live very near the school, located a few hundred yards from the Trans Canada Highway. The longest bus run is twenty-three miles and the shortest, six miles. Under normal circumstances the first bus arrives at the school at 8:15 a.m. and the last one at 8:45 a.m. The first bus leaves the school at 3:30 p.m. and the last one at 3:45 p.m. Because of bus schedules no pupils remain in the school after 3:45 p.m. and no teachers require students to remain after this time for special help or detention. The teachers themselves usually remain for a considerable period after this.

The school makes a great effort to keep parents informed of what is going on in the school. From time to time information and materials are sent home with the children. In addition, parents are encouraged to contact the school by telephone and the teachers and principal use the telephone to let parents know of any difficulties or special problems. Special materials have been prepared to explain to parents the philosophy of continuous progress.

The School Grounds and Building

The Rosedale Elementary School is situated on a large lot in an open area between the Trans Canada Highway and an access road to the nearby village. There is an abundance of playground space, at this time of year covered with light snow and ice. At the far end of the playground are great mounds of snow pushed there when the playground was plowed after earlier storms. The children regularly play on these mounds of snow. Behind and at one end of the building are rough wooden frameworks for swings and goal posts. This equipment is not used in the winter.

The school is a modern steel and concrete building with brick exterior, serving 315 elementary pupils. From the time it was built (in 1966) the school has been progressive in philosophy and practice and is now fully nongraded. It has a "special education" class of sixteen educable retardates and provides for a number of trainable retardates in regular classes. Of the fourteen teachers, ten regular and two (French and Music) half-time -- although the music teacher is currently ill and no replacement is available -- only the principal and the special education teacher have degrees. The principal and the vice-principal, who is also the physical education teacher, are the only males. They both teach at the senior (fifth and sixth year) level.

The pupil population is stable (about 25 transfers a year) and the attendance rate is good (about 95 per cent). In fact, a few of the disadvantaged children miss a disproportionate amount of the time, decreasing the average daily attendance. Illness is the major reason for absence among the other children, and it is at a low level. The teacher population is also stable. Nearly all the teachers in the area have taught here for many years -- earlier in the one- and two-room schools this central school has replaced. Next year, for example, it is anticipated that only one teacher will be replaced, and she is retiring after a career of teaching in the area.

Although no social workers are attached to the school, the school principal consults them regularly (two or three times a week). One teacher serves (half-time) as school librarian; there are no teacher aides and parent volunteers, but a public health nurse makes weekly visits. A reading consultant and a mathematics consultant are available from time to time. (One serves the total school district and the other the total region, comprised of several school districts.) The teachers do not serve on joint committees with teachers from the junior high schools or high schools of the district, but they do meet often in the in-service training sessions conducted by the principal (who often serves as special consultant to other areas on request).

Children are assigned to classes on a random basis, but within the classes are assigned to groups on the basis of achievement. Unfortunately, from the point of view of many teachers in the school, there are no remedial classes. Normally under the nongraded concept pupils are not required to repeat a year. In this school, however, in rare circumstances, where teacher and principal agree that a student will profit from repeating a year, the student does so -- with no stigma attached, of course. When a student does, he takes a new program and approach, rather than the one which did not work the previous year. Limited experience has shown that in the second year the student achieves satisfactorily. (In reality, this simply means that the student progresses at his own rate, which is in keeping with the philosophy of continuous progress.)

The school building has only one floor and no doorsills. It consists of two wings, one for the senior and one for the junior classes. In the central core is a gymnasium/auditorium, a kitchen, a first-aid room, a staff room, a small library, and the music/French room, which sometimes serves as a projection room. There is also a small room used by the student council as a canteen. The gymnasium/auditorium (apparently rarely used as an auditorium) is used regularly for physical education classes and sports. There is a selective basketball program at noon. In each wing is a storeroom for special equipment and curricular materials. Teachers may draw from these as the need arises and return the special equipment or materials after use. Because of the lack of doorsills and the one-level construction of the building, special equipment may be easily transported to any classroom on wheeled carts available in the supply rooms.

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION AT ROSEDALE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (SCHOOL B)

Class: Third Year Class -- 8-year olds

Students: 22 -- 11 boys, 11 girls

Continuous Progress Plan: No listing of passes and failures. Generally high or average achievers, two pupils low achievers working almost a year behind the others in reading and mathematics.

Teacher: Miss Anne Jones -- an eleventh-year teacher who has always taught in this district, the last three and one-half years in this school, calm, thorough, well-organized, sympathetic.

Monday, January 19, 1970

Having had an interview with the principal, who had already informed the teachers that the observer would be spending this week in the school, and having had a tour of the school building and an opportunity to examine equipment and materials available, the observer did not sit in on activities in the classroom until after recess this morning. The observer was quietly received by the teacher and given permission to occupy a table near the door (to the rear and side of the classroom). The record which follows attempts to replicate that given for the grade 3 class in School A.

The Classroom

The classroom is bright and attractive, with beige and tan walls on three sides and a wood-paneled wall on the fourth. The ceiling is high, constructed of wood, with a heavy dropped beam and fluorescent lighting. One long wall is of clear (double) glass. Chalk boards are found on a long and a short wall and above these are the alphabet (printed and written, capital and lower case letters) and a series of paintings as well as consonant and vowel sounds and groupings. Along the window wall are shelves for the full length of the room. On these are a series of books, notebooks, concrete mathematics materials and some games.

At one end are a perpetual calendar (which the children bring up to date each day) and a chart entitled "Busy Bees", which has the names of student monitors on bee-like figures. Above the alphabet on a long and a short wall is a series of pictures cut from magazines. On the fourth wall, near the door, are mittens cut out, coloured and decorated by the children. This area provides a splash of colour. Near it is a grouping of social studies pictures and beyond it a number of coloured snowmobiles (mimeographed sheets) with the children's individual efforts at completing the theme "I Am a Snow Mobile". The teacher's desk is also situated on this wall.

Language

The children are working quietly, completing an exercise separating and punctuating a series of run-on sentences on the boards. Miss Jones asks John if he is finished, whereupon he returns to work. She then checks the work of a number of others, pointing out errors. As a child encounters difficulty, he raises his hand and the teacher comes to help him. She speaks quietly in each instance. Many of the children require help.

To one she says, "You have two sentences in one." To another, "You have a period there. What should the next letter be?" And then, "Nancy has hers all right. That's good, Nancy." One boy is not working. He puts his thumb in his mouth. Finally he takes his pencil and begins. Miss Jones continues to check work. She tells John C. to put a period in. Some appear impatient. One girl stands and snaps her fingers to attract Miss Jones' attention.

Miss Jones tells those who have finished that they may get a book, which a number do. One girl shakes her head, plays with a purse. Miss Jones asks John if he is working now. When their work is finished they take it to the front or the side of the room and hang it on a clothesline suspended from hooks attached to the bottoms of the chalkboards.

Miss Jones then invites the pupils to come to the board and put in the periods and capital letters. Richard comes to the board and puts a period after the first sentence. The teacher asks why he did not put it after the following word and he gives a satisfactory response. She asks others in turn to put in periods and capital letters, until the paragraph is correctly written. When a pupil has difficulty, she has another help him and has him write the sentence correctly after he has received such help.

She then says, "Now what is our rule?"

The class responds in chorus, "Every sentence must end with a period."

"That is not quite right. Every sentence must end with a stop mark, but there are three kinds of stop marks. What are they?"

Eventually they arrive at the conclusion that every sentence must end with a period, an exclamation mark or a question mark and must begin with a capital letter. They repeat the rule.

The principal's voice now comes over the P.A. System, giving the names of those playing intermural basketball in the gym at noon. He lists two teams and states that they will begin playing at 12:15.

The teacher then tells the class to move their desks back to their original groupings and to get ready for lunch. While the children put things away, there is some talking, which the teacher discourages. She tells Nancy to pick her scissors up off the floor, lines the girls and boys up to go to the washroom and leaves the room with them. In a short time they return to the room, take their lunches from desks or bookbags (there is no cafeteria) and begin eating. The teacher eats a similar lunch at her desk. In a short time pupils and teacher have finished, some pupils begin playing games or reading, some go into the corridor to wander around, some put on outer clothing to go outside. Miss Jones retires to the staff room. (She does not have supervision duty today.)

Monday Afternoon

The children and teacher return to the classroom. The teacher sends one group to the library for reading (a short free reading period and a period in which they listen to older students, who supervise the library, read aloud).

Miss Jones has the larger remaining group (3 boys, 4 girls) work exercises previously written on the board. She then moves to the smaller group (2 boys) and prints words on the board. She has them identify these. She helps them sound the words and repeat them. She asks what each means. She also notes plural forms, "sh" sounds and vowel sounds. She then tells them to open their readers and read from "The Wishing Well."

"Timmy, you read the first page."

"Now, John, you read." He quibbles for a moment, is told to put his feet down on the floor and then reads. Miss Jones corrects an error.

In the meantime those in the other group work at the exercise. One boy stops working. One girl, Glenda, asks him a question. She then continues working. Miss Jones assigns the next two pages of reading to John and Timmy and tells them to read to themselves. She then moves to the other group.

"Read the first sentence and give the answer, Tammy." Tammy reads the sentence incorrectly and gives the wrong answer. Miss Jones then asks Judy and others in turn to read and answer the questions. She asks if anybody had all the answers right but nobody did, after which she tells them to put their readers away, take their spellers and look over their words. They take out their books. Miss Jones returns to Timmy and John and again has them read orally in turn.

Spelling

The group returns from the library. This group and the larger of the two previous groups take the same spelling. Miss Jones dictates spelling words, using each word in a sentence or giving its meaning. The pupils write the words in their spelling books. Occasionally Miss Jones dictates a complete sentence, which she tells them to copy.

John and Timmy, who are using a different spelling series, are not working. John goes to the bookshelves, and examines some books. Timmy goes to the bookshelves, does not take a book, returns to his seat and stands there.

Miss Jones has two pupils collect the spelling notebooks and bring them to her desk. She tells the group to study all the words in Section B while she marks their work. There is some chattering. Miss Jones remarks that they cannot study if they are noisy. Many of the children watch the teacher, apparently to see how well they did their work. After marking a book, she moves to a two-dimensional model of a train with open windows and with a picture of a boy or girl's head (appropriately marked according to the names of those in the class) hanging in each. If the work is right, she turns the face out; if there is an error, she turns it in. She finally says that only two had their spelling all right and reminds them to study their spelling. The bell rings. (It does so to begin and to end each session and after each fifty-minute interval. All classes are of roughly fifty-minutes' duration.) Miss Jones continues for a few minutes. She then has the girls and boys wishing to do so go to the washroom. She follows them out of the classroom.

Science

In a few minutes the teacher and pupils return. They take their science books out, but answer oral questions asked by the teacher. Included in these questions are: "What do we call the pictures the stars make in the sky? Who can draw the big dipper? Who can draw the little dipper? What is the position of the North Star? Who can draw Orion?" These are review questions, which some students can answer easily. A few appear to have difficulty. Miss Jones then leads them into a discussion of the stars themselves. She elicits a variety of responses when she asks what they think stars are. Some of those are close to being correct; some are unexpected; for example, "the place where God lives". They go on to refine the definition of a star, to speculate on their size and distance away, to agree that the sun is the closest star to us.

Miss Jones then says, "Let's take some notes. What shall we use as a title?" The class develops and the teacher writes on the board the conclusions they reach. They are told to copy the notes and to think for next day about what the sun does for us. Miss Jones checks their notes as they complete them, has them make corrections if there are mistakes and permits them to get a book and read after they have finished. She offers encouragement to some and reminders to others.

Recess

Several children go out to recess. The others remain in the classroom, go to the washrooms or meet their friends in the corridors. Although there is a minimum of supervision, the children behave well.

Social Studies

After recess period Miss Jones says, "Take your social studies books, please." She then reviews continents, asking the children what they are, their names, their general locations. She then singles out India, asks what continent it is in, the bodies of water bounding it, the types of land regions, the types of homes. She has them discuss why some people in our country are called Indians. Peter volunteers the information that he once saw an Indian dance in the United States. They discuss Christopher Columbus and his discovery of the New World. They then discuss the people of India. Luke contributes much of the information here, knowing the names of the articles of dress, the names of some of the religious groups. (He has lived much of his life in India, having been here less than a year.) A few children have seen Indians in native dress in Fredericton, where a number of students from the East attend university.

As in the previous class they develop a series of notes on the information they arrived at in their discussion. John moves his desk so he may see the board. Pamela is wanted at the door and goes out for a few minutes. Miss Jones writes the notes on the board and they copy them. Miss Jones then passes out some mimeographed pictures of Indian people and articles and tells them to cut out the pictures, colour them and paste them in their notebooks with the notes they have taken. "Remember the people have dark (but not black) skins and they wear light colours."

Luke suggests that one sentence written by the teacher is not clear. She agrees and corrects it. The children industriously write the notes and when they finish take their work to Miss Jones, who checks it for accuracy and neatness. Richard goes to her and shows her his scraped hand. She asks how he injured it and he says that he scraped it on a rock. Those who have finished writing are colouring the pictures and pasting them in their books.

A number of children now move about. Several take scraps of paper to the wastebasket. There is some quiet talking. Miss Jones says that if they have not finished they are to fold their papers together and put them inside their notebooks. She asks Judy and Luke to pick up paper from the floor and put it in the wastebasket. She gets a spelling book for John C., who has lost his.

Miss Jones says: "I don't think you studied too hard over the weekend because only two of you had your spelling words all right."

She tells Peter to tie his sneakers (which are lying under his desk) together, take them out and put them on the rack. Ricky tells John that his trousers are ripped in the back. John checks and laughs. Miss Jones says for those who are ready to line up to go home. They line up at the door, go out and get outer clothing, return with it on or putting it on. They then move out into the corridor, where other classes are lining up to get ready to take the bus. Miss Jones asks Heather if she has a new jacket and says it is pretty when Heather says that she got it in Saint John. The pupils leave. Miss Jones speaks briefly with this observer and then begins marking notebooks and preparing work for tomorrow.

Tuesday, January 20, 1970

The children arrive by bus at various times between 8:15 and 9:00 a.m. Some play with toys (one an expensive electric car, two others with dolls) which they brought with them. Some play in the corridor; some sit at their desks. Extreme cold has caused some children to be late arriving. One bus has been delayed and another has required a substitution.

The teacher opens the morning session with a reading from a book of Bible stories. The children sit quietly and listen. There is no discussion or comment. Following the reading, Miss Jones asks the class if they would like to sing "Three Blind Mice". They stand and sing, unaccompanied (except that Miss Jones sings with them). Then they sing "Michael Finnigan", "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain" and "Heigh Ho". Most children are enthusiastic and sing well. Timmy and Judy just barely sing.

Miss Jones asks Richard to place the date on the perpetual calendar and asks one child from the "Tens" group and one from the "Hundreds" group to pass out mathematics workbooks. The "Tens" group use concrete materials (boards and pegs) to find solutions to multiplication problems. The "Ones" group works problems of division. Miss Jones briefly questions them on factors, sets and the use of the number line. (Each desk in the room has a number line of masking tape across the top.) She then tells them to work the division equations on page 162 and moves to the "Hundreds" group.

A number line has been drawn on the board in the area of the "Hundreds" group. This group is less familiar with the use of the number line than the "Ones" group. Miss Jones reviews sets and shows the group that you can find the product by adding sets; so that 4+4+4+4 =16, or 4x4=16 or 4 groups of 4 equal 16. She has John come and draw four sets of four, which he adds to get 16. She then has Luke mark off four sets of four on the number line. He makes an error, counting the dots rather than the spaces. Miss Jones has him do it again, correctly. John gets up from his seat to take a closer look. He is obviously excited. The others appear interested, including some from the "Ones" and "Tens" groups.

Judy, from the "Tens" group, comes up to check something with Miss Jones. She then returns to her seat. Others from the "Tens" and the "Ones" groups are working very quietly. Miss Jones has successive pupils from the "Hundreds" group work problems on the board. When one makes an error, a number of the others raise their hands. Miss Jones again explains an error and has Glenda correct it.

In the meantime there is activity elsewhere. John A., who is standing up by his desk, moves his arms as though they were wings. Timmy and Luke raise their hands to attract the teacher's attention. Richard and Nancy (from the "Ones" group) watch what is going on in the "Hundreds" group. Timmy does the wrong problem and then corrects it. John C. comes to Miss Jones for help. Ricky makes a noise and appears to be wasting time. John A. again stands up and this time slaps his chest.

At this point the late bus arrives and causes a few moments of distraction. Miss Jones tells the class to return to their regular seats. She has pupils collect workbooks and then has those who wish to do so go to the washroom. The few who remain work quietly at their seats.

When the others return, Miss Jones says: "John, get the readers for your group, please. Peter, get the readers for your group. The others look at the exercises on the board." There are three reading groups, the "Moon Walkers", only two in number and the slowest group, the "Astronauts", and the "Cosmonauts". Miss Jones works for awhile with the "Moon Walkers". She points out the pictures in their reading lesson and has them interpret. She then has them examine new words, pronounce them and guess the meanings. She tells them to read to find the answers to questions in their workbooks and to circle the answer "yes" if the statement is true and "no" if it is not.

She then moves to the "Astronauts". For this group she has prepared a number of sentences on the board with new words underlined. The sentences show the meanings of new words. She then tells them to study the sentences and to use each new word in a sentence of their own which will show the meaning. "When you finish, I want you to write these words (a separate list of 14 words). Beside each show whether the vowel is long or short." She gives an example.

Miss Jones then goes to the "Cosmonauts" and asks a series of questions related to the story in their readers. They answer individually. John and Timmy ("Moon Walkers") come for help. Miss Jones asks Brian ("Astronauts") what he wants. He tells her he wants an eraser, gets it and goes back to his seat.

The "Cosmonauts" take their readers. Miss Jones assigns the characters in the story to various pupils and has them read the dialogue. They do so, appearing to enjoy it. Occasionally one forgets that he is to read the direct speech only or that a new character begins speaking. When they finish, Miss Jones says that they did not read well this morning. She tells Timmy, who has come to ask her the answer to a question, to check the answer in her book on her desk. She then assigns questions on page 61 to the "Astronauts" and returns to the "Moon Walkers". Miss Jones goes over new words with this group. She then has Timmy and John read orally. After they finish, they discuss what they read. Ricky comes up and asks Miss Jones a question. A few minutes later he checks again.

Miss Jones moves to the "Astronauts". She checks their exercises, asking for oral answers to the questions she asks. She has children successively repeat a word (from the list on the board) and tell whether the vowel is long or short. One girl does not recognize a word and another says it for her. (John and Timmy have put their work away and are following what the "Astronauts" are doing.)

The bell rings, but the teacher and pupils continue working for a few minutes. Then Miss Jones tells them to put their work away for recess and to line up if they are going out. Most go out. A few remain. Gregory is playing with his electric car but lets others try it. Four girls go to the bookshelves and look at books. Two of them have dolls. Another girl eats a sandwich. In a few minutes about half of those who left return. Miss Jones tells Richard not to talk so loudly. She goes to her desk and works at her plan book. Ricky comes in eating a cookie.

After recess Miss Jones lines the class up to go to the special purpose room for French. They move to this room, where they are greeted in French by the male French specialist, who teaches French to all classes in this school and another a few miles away. They respond quite easily in French. Again in French Mr. Smith asks them if they would like to sing. They answer, "Oui Monsieur", whereupon he goes to the piano and plays. They sing a brief song in French. After the song is finished, Mr. Smith refers the pupils to charts at the front of the room. He reviews the names of the people depicted. He has them repeat the names and the assertive sentences stating who they are. From time to time he has the group review sentences, phrases, expressions. The program ("Le Francais Partout") is totally aural-oral, using both the text and the supportive materials -- materials which are designed to train the ear and the speech of children. The teacher speaks quite rapidly and the children answer in the same fashion.

Peter does not appear to be paying attention, but when he is asked a specific question, he answers readily and well. The others appear to be interested. The teacher calls for both group and individual response. He uses a magnetic board and figures to illustrate his explanations of the figures. Next he has children come to the front, point out figures and in French tell who they are. In French he asks Valerie to pass out their French names. Wherever possible, these are French versions of the children's first names. He then refers to each by his class name. The class form pairs, one girl and one boy, and carry out a brief contest. The teacher asks questions in French and the students point to the person on the chart to whom he refers. This time the girls win. The class finishes with a song in French and the pupils return to their own classroom.

Miss Jones tells the class to take their spelling books. She explains an assignment to the "Moon Walkers", who form a separate group for spelling. She tells them that when they finish they may take a book.

The "Astronauts" and the "Cosmonauts" form a single group for spelling. Miss Jones dictates words and sentences orally and has the pupils write them in their notebooks. One child hiccoughs. The teacher says, "What do we say?" The child answers, "Excuse me." John asks a question, gets a reply.

When the dictation period is finished, Miss Jones asks three of the children to gather the books and place them on her desk. John and Timmy are now reading books. The other children are talking quietly. Richard goes to the bookshelves. Miss Jones tells him to return to his seat. She checks Valerie's book, tells Valerie to come and get her book and to write the incorrect word correctly five times. She gives similar directions to others who have errors. Those whose books have been returned write in their books. The others sit quietly, waiting for the bell to ring for lunch. The bell rings. Miss Jones tells them to line up and they leave the room for the washrooms. In a few minutes they return, sit quietly and eat their lunches. Miss Jones eats her lunch at her desk. When they finish eating, they take books or games. Some go outside; some play in the corridors.

After lunch the "Moon Walkers" are directed to do the exercise on the board. This consists of two lists of words. Miss Jones tells them to list the number of the word in the first list which matches the one in the second. They match because they rhyme.

The "Astronauts" have oral reading. The teacher asks successive pupils to read aloud and works closely with them as they do so. (Valerie is not paying close attention. She appears tired.) Miss Jones then assigns reading of pages 67 and 68 -- riddles on page 67 and answers on page 68 -- and tells them when they have finished to take out their workbooks.

The "Cosmonauts" do an exercise written on the board. Before they begin, Miss Jones goes over related work with them -- syllabication, prefixes and suffixes. They appear to understand the work well. In a short time most have finished the exercise and a number have no errors. Miss Jones then reviews contractions with them. They have difficulty with the apostrophe, confusing it with the comma. Finally everybody seems to understand and they proceed.

The teacher moves to the "Astronauts" and gives them an assignment to do in their workbooks. She has selected pupils read the directions, repeats her explanation of earlier exercises and assigns a series of exercises to be completed. She then goes to the "Moon Walkers" and checks the exercise they did. Both pupils have them right and are told to take their books to the teacher's desk and put stars on their work. John stamps two stars on his. Miss Jones then asks John what to do in the workbook exercise on page 53. He says, "Put the right number in the blank." She says to do it then.

All groups are now working. Since Richard is not, Miss Jones tells him to work. When John comes to her for help, she has him answer his own question. Then she goes about the room, helping where necessary. At the end of the period she has one pupil from each group gather up the readers and workbooks.

Two children from the Special Education class (Russell and Sherry) come in for language. They are older than the eight-year-olds in this class. All groups work together. Miss Jones refers them to a series of sentences on the board. She asks them in turn to read a sentence and in each case asks which word shows what someone or something does or did. They raise their hands. (Sherry and Russell do not.) Judy says that she thinks she knows what they have to do -- mark the word. Miss Jones ignores her and writes additional examples.

She then asks how they would describe these words or what names they would give them. They answer, "Doing words, working words." The teacher suggests "action words." They agree. She then tells them to underline the action words in the sentences on the board. (Brian cannot find his book so the teacher tells him to use a sheet of paper from the bookshelves.) John asks a question which indicates that he has not been listening. Miss Jones points this out, but repeats her instructions.

She adds sentences and has them successively read all the sentences aloud and then work the exercise. She tells them to raise their hands when they have finished.

Their work shows a wide range of ability, both to write and to complete the exercise. Many have them all right. A few simply underlined the second word in each sentence. When they finish, they get a book and read. Only a few are slow to finish. John talks to himself, waves his arms, seems to have a very short attention span. Sherry finishes her work but Russell does not. Miss Jones asks him to underline the words in the sentences he has copied and bring his book and show her the exercise next day.

Miss Jones asks a series of questions about the tooth -- the parts, the sub-parts. She then says that today we shall take some notes. She asks a series of questions, the answers to which make up the notes, which she writes on the board. Ralph is not paying attention. Miss Jones directs them to write the parts of the tooth under the picture of a tooth they drew last day. Tammy does not have a notebook. Miss Jones tells her to get a sheet of paper from the bookshelves and to get a new notebook for next day.

Richard, apparently to attract attention, spells words as he writes them down. He then stops and gazes around. The teacher tells him to write his notes because they will soon be erased from the board. Richard sneezes, says, "Excuse me." Peter sneezes and is prompted by the teacher to say excuse me. When they finish their notes they take their work to the teacher. She says that those who had spelling wrong may start writing them correctly, if they have finished their notes. Some go to the bookshelves; others, who have been assigned tasks as "Busy Bees" begin performing their duties. There is the general bustle which precedes dismissal.

Wednesday, January 21, 1970

There is a continuation of Bible reading. As yesterday, this period is very brief. They stand and sing "O Canada". Again they sing well. They then form two circles, as Peter suggests, one for the boys and one for the girls and sing "Here We Go Round the Mulberry Bush" -- this is the way we comb our hair, this is the way we wash our clothes, etc. They move about in their circles and perform actions to the words. They then sing "Heigh Ho" and return to their desks.

Each group ("Moon Walkers", "Astronauts" and "Cosmonauts") is assigned some work. Miss Jones works with each group in turn, assigns exercises and reading and answers questions pupils ask. As usual, the pupils in general appear interested in their work and work quietly. Miss Jones checks all work as it is finished.

The pupils carry on as usual during recess period. The teachers go to the Library for a brief staff meeting, where they discuss attendance records, procedures re parental complaints or visits, Education Week and their programs and a matter of urgent professional concern. Only one regular teacher missed the meeting because of supervision duty. The other's supervision duty was taken over by a supply teacher replacing a teacher who is ill.

When class resumes, they take up spelling and then writing. This is the only formal writing period of the week. Miss Jones writes the days of the week on the board, shows how each letter is formed, reminds them to work within the lines and to watch letters that extend above or below the others. The children write. She checks their work, sometimes making general comments to the whole group. When she finds an error, she has the student write the word again correctly.

The first period after lunch would normally be a reading period, but it is a social studies period today, since the school has procured a film on the life and work of Eskimos, which can be shown to both third-year classes now, but cannot be shown later. Consequently, the pupils proceed to the Music-French-Projection-All Purpose room to see the film. Miss Jones tells them briefly what to expect and look for. The film is good. The pupils pay strict attention. When it is over, they return to their classroom and Miss Jones permits them to go to the washroom. The six who remain in the classroom sit in their seats. Gregory and Timmy take out their notebooks. (Gregory makes a great display of getting his notebook but then does very little work.) When Miss Jones and the others return, she asks how many enjoyed the film. They all raise their hands. She then asks if they saw anything in the film that showed that the Eskimos had contact with the white man. She re-phrases her questions to ask if they saw anything that probably came from the white man. Judy mentions the gun. Someone else mentions the telescope. Miss Jones mentions glasses on the Eskimo when the children can't recall any other signs of things the Eskimo received from the white man. (They do offer some guesses which are wrong.)

The reading period is similar to earlier ones, a combination of oral reading and interpretive exercises, with different materials and exercises for each of the groups. Timmy and John appear to do better work today. Since both are poor oral readers, Miss Jones gives them much more attention than she does the others. As the pupils finish their work, they take books to read. Miss Jones reminds Glenda that she should read, not just look at the pictures.

The whole class is again treated as a single unit for language work. Miss Jones has the class refer to sentences and then arrive at the definition of a verb. "A verb is an action word." She then tells the class to pick out the verbs in the sentences she writes on the board. They all work busily. When they finish, they take their work to Miss Jones, who checks it. She tells a number to put a star on their work. They do so enthusiastically.

Luke takes a large sheet of paper and lies on the floor to draw an Eskimo paddling a canoe. Nancy and Valerie follow his lead and also get down on the floor to draw. Others are drawing and colouring at their seats. Glenda kneels by her desk and packs her bookbag. She puts in a library book she took from the library at noon. Some of the others hang their books on the clothesline. When the bell rings, they get ready to leave. They get their outer clothing, take their lunch boxes and books and line up in the hall. When the bell rings again they move to their respective buses.

Thursday, January 22, 1970

Miss Jones continues a reading from her book of Bible stories. Although the children sit quietly, many do not seem interested in the story. There is no follow-up. After the Bible reading they sing in much the same fashion as in previous days.

Those in the "Ones" group receive a mimeographed sheet with a number of number lines. Miss Jones explains that they are to write a division equation and a multiplication equation for each marked number line. Miss Jones tells the "Tens" group that they should work their multiplication problems today without their peg boards if possible. She assigns exercises from the text, tells Judy and John not to talk and moves to the "Ones" group, where she again assigns exercises. She then has all groups work and moves about checking work.

Using the number line and sets, Miss Jones reviews with the "Hundreds" group the ways to find the product. She then explains a new way of finding the product by comparing sets. Using diagrams and coloured chalk, she shows the number of possible combinations of sets. They count the combinations and arrive at equations such as 2x3=6. Miss Jones develops another series of examples and asks the pupils to write multiplying equations for each example.

As usual Miss Jones works with each reading group in turn. She insists on comprehension and interpretation and leads the children from the known to the projected. She cautions some pupils not to interrupt when another person is speaking. Student reaction and involvement appear in almost every instance. Again she gives special attention to the slowest group.

Although recess period follows the same pattern as that of previous days, more children remain in the classroom, and they become overly active and boisterous. Miss Jones sends them to their seats. After recess they again work math. Miss Jones instructs all groups to carry on with their previous work. She helps the "Hundreds" group with some special problems but lets the other groups carry on without interference.

The lunch break is early today because the school prepares hot dogs each Thursday. The student council, with the vice-principal as advisor, is responsible for acquiring the food, preparing it and selling it (at fifteen cents a hot dog). The program does not make money but pays for itself and provides a change from the "normal" lunch carried from home. (Chocolate milk is available each day also.) The younger children get their hot dogs early so there will be less congestion.

The teacher passes out mimeographed sheets with a drawing of a pot of branches with leaves and hearts on them and a bow on the pot. She gives instructions on how they should colour the drawing -- heavily with wax crayons. She suggests that they work carefully but that they use their own judgement as to what colours they use. The children move into new groups -- apparently more social than strictly educational -- and begin working. Most colour the hearts red but some use shades that are off-red. Luke colours them a strong blue. (He may have never seen a valentine, having lived until recently in India.) They seem to enjoy the work, talking, but not overly noisy. When the noise level rises considerably, Miss Jones suggests that they be quieter.

When they finish colouring, Miss Jones has them come to her desk in twos and fill in the background with black poster paint. This makes the pictures remarkably vivid.

During the reading period the "Cosmonauts" and the "Moon Walkers" go to the library and the "Astronauts" remain in the classroom. They discuss the reading lesson briefly. Miss Jones writes a sentence containing the word "signal". Some pupils recognize it and Richard talks about the use of flags as signals in racing. The word "attack" is also recognized. Miss Jones then assigns an exercise on syllabication. When the "Cosmonauts" and "Moon Walkers" return from the library, Miss Jones tells the "Moon Walkers" to work an exercise on their board and the "Cosmonauts" to work another.

During the spelling period Miss Jones explains the use of vowels in rhyming words to the "Moon Walkers". She has them find some rhyming words for oral words she mentions. She then has them work a matching exercise from the board. She dictates spelling words to the rest of the class, using the same procedure she did in previous lessons. Again she includes complete sentences for them to write. She has pupils collect the books and then tells the class to study their words for tomorrow while she is marking their work. They study for a few minutes but then begin reading and talking or simply sitting. Miss Jones checks the books and has Ricky return them. She checks the matching exercise done by John and Timmy.

Friday, January 23, 1970

The pre-class and opening periods follow the pattern established earlier.

There is obviously a wide range of ability and knowledge in mathematics. The "Ones" group reviews the use of division to find the number in each set or to find the number of sets. Miss Jones has them work a number of sample problems. She asks a number of oral questions also and uses chalk drawings in support of her explanations. She then sets the group to work exercises. Nancy asks how the answers should be put down and Miss Jones shows her.

The "Hundreds" group does an oral exercise. (Ricky comes and asks a question. Peter and Judy talk -- apparently about their math problems.) Miss Jones illustrates multiplication equations developed by using all possible combinations of two groups. She then asks who can write a multiplication equation to show the product of two sets. Timmy raises his hand, goes to the board and writes 3x3=9, which is correct. Tammy raises her hand on the next problem, comes to the board and writes 2x3=9. Miss Jones suggests she check it again, but she simply looks bewildered. Miss Jones has Luke correct it. (Judy comes and asks a question. The teacher replies.) She sets the group to work on an exercise in their textbooks and then works briefly with the "Ones" group, after which she moves about the room checking individual work. The class works well.

Since the French teacher is ill and no competent replacement is available, Miss Jones dictates spelling to all but the "Moon Walkers", who are put to work at an exercise in their workbooks. (Timmy brings up his workbook. Miss Jones answers his question and he returns to his seat.) Two pupils collect the spelling notebooks and Miss Jones sends Nancy to the storeroom to get the jar of black paint the class used yesterday. The class continues the art work begun yesterday. Those who have finished may read or draw. Miss Jones marks spelling.

The class goes to the gym for physical education. Mr. Green unites them with another class for tumbling exercises. First he has them do warm-up rolls on a mat. Then he has them do an elementary tumbling exercise using the horse. Many appear awkward. Mr. Green has considerable patience, however, and helps those needing help. Although the pupils appear relaxed in the gym class, they are not overly noisy or active. (The pupils do not change to gym clothing for their physical education classes, nor are any showers available.) They return quietly to their classroom.

"What is a star, Peter?" (Peter doesn't know.) Others say they know and two together give the definition established last day. They agree that the sun is a star and that we see it so clearly because it is much closer to us than other stars. In the exchange of questions and answers, a few pupils offer some irrelevant information and some give incorrect answers. The class goes on to the benefits we derive from the sun and show their farming background in their suggestions. They go on to discuss the seasons, the changing length of days and the phenomenon of the "midnight sun" and almost total darkness in "Eskimo land". (A number do not seem at all certain of their information. There is no reference to a text or to any reference books or natural science materials. In fact much of the discussion appears rather vague.) As in their previous Science lesson, they develop a few simple notes, which the teacher writes on the board and they copy in their notebooks. The pupils do show considerable interest in the topic.

As Miss Jones lines the group up to go to the washroom before lunch, she notices that John C. has a rash, which she takes to be measles. She checks with the principal, who agrees, and the principal drives the child home. Otherwise lunch period is as usual.

Most of the children go outside to play after lunch. A few do not go out. They are nearly all noisy on their return and Miss Jones tells them to be quiet. She asks if they would like to hear a story about Paul Bunyan. She reads about his birth, early life, immense size. She then asks if they would like to hear another story about Paul Bunyan and "Babe". They assure her they would. They listen breathlessly and laugh regularly. They don't believe the story is true to life but they find it fascinating.

Miss Jones mentions that last day they learned that many people in India have Hinduism as their religion. She goes on to outline briefly some of the beliefs of the Hindus, particularly their belief in the sacredness of cows, monkeys and snakes. Luke volunteers some information about the varieties of snakes he has seen in India. He contributes further information, at the teacher's request, about caste markings, monkey gods, and the customs of the people.

The class then takes some notes on "Castes in India." Richard offers information not related to the topic and Miss Jones points this fact out to him. They bring their notes to her, she checks them and has pupils make necessary corrections. She tells the class that too many are talking and reminds them that a number did not colour the pictures (of Indian people and objects) they were given last day. Some move to this task.

The reading period follows the established pattern. One group works mimeographed exercises, one group works in workbooks and the third group reads silently. Miss Jones works briefly with each group, spending most of her time with the slowest ones. She involves Timmy and John in discussion, explains some new compound words, has them turn to their story and tells them to read pages 114-117 to themselves. She checks progress in the other groups, quietly moving around and offering help where it is needed. Some raise their hands for help; others receive it without requesting it. They all work well.

The recess period is longer today because of the improved weather conditions. Many children go outside for the first time this week. On their return they work language exercises on worksheets Miss Jones has prepared in advance. They work diligently until time for dismissal. There is a little more talking and eagerness as they leave today, doubtless because it is Friday afternoon.

Summary

The class consists principally of three groups, one high, one average and one low, although groupings vary in reading and mathematics. The children seem to enjoy school, although there appears to be a deadly earnestness in their approach to learning. Miss Jones does not believe that any of her pupils are particularly poor. This is borne out by the quality of their clothing and the lunches they carry. An examination of cumulative record cards shows that most of the children come from large families, only two of them having fewer than three brothers and sisters and three having in excess of ten.

Both the classroom and the school appear to have adequate resources, partly because the principal and staff are highly resourceful.

Miss Jones and other staff members make regular use of the small mimeographing machine, reproducing quantities of materials for their classes. Miss Jones relates well to the pupils and operates a well-organized, productive classroom. She pays special attention to the slow learners and appears to pace her groups well.

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to show something of the characteristics of the two schools in which observational studies were carried out -- the nature of the buildings and facilities, the socio-economic characteristics of the communities, the actual interaction of students and teacher in each of the third-year classrooms. Although it would be difficult to generalize from the findings, it seems safe to say that School A suffers greatly in terms of plant and facilities. The high level of poverty in the community, with the resultant low level of concern for educational achievement, creates problems additional to those experienced in School B, where most parents apparently are convinced that children need an education. There does not appear to be any great difference in the ways in which the teachers relate to the pupils, although the pupils in the class observed in School A appear to be more nonchalant in respect to school work than those in School B.

Discussions with teachers in both schools lead one to believe that the differences in educational achievement between poor and more affluent children become more pronounced as the children become older, although the principal in School B believes that social differences at the higher level in his school are less marked. Teachers in both schools apparently try to treat all pupils equally, although there is a tendency among some teachers in each school to believe that pupils from certain disadvantaged homes will not perform well. This opinion is usually based on experience with older children from the same home and contacts with parents. The boy in School A, for example, who referred to his sister's twins had earlier drawn the teacher's attention to the fact that his brother's name had been in the paper -- he had received a three-year penitentiary sentence for stealing. Two of this boy's older brothers are also in the penitentiary. All three of them did not perform well in school.

Having completed this report, the observer believes that "equality of educational opportunity" alone will not greatly improve the ability of poor children to profit from the educational system equally with more affluent children. Such children seem to require much more than the normal system can provide. They need additional experiences, special motivation, special teaching methods and more time to adjust to societal expectations. Programs to accomplish the desired objectives, however, will be costly and will involve facilities, agencies and experts not currently available in a province where all funds for education are strictly limited by the financial situation of the province itself.

Since poverty is largely relative, and since the minimum level of educational services in one province may be higher than the maximum level in another in which there is an even greater educational effort, there is good reason to believe that there should be a substantial financial contribution by the Federal Government to poorer provinces to help overcome the educational disadvantages faced, not only by extremely poor children, but by most children. If the Federal Government can supply "services to people," perhaps the most important service it could supply would be one which would help poor children through proper education to become happy and productive citizens.

CASE STUDIES OF TWO FAMILIES LIVING IN POVERTY

Committee on Poverty
Manitoba Teachers' Society

The Committee on Poverty decided to undertake two case studies of families living in poverty and to select elements of similarity and difference in the history and condition of these families. Following are descriptions of the Hear family and of the X family.

CASE STUDY NO. 1: THE X FAMILY

The X family live on the outer fringe of a suburb in Greater Winnipeg. Their home consists of a living room-kitchen (8' x 14') and two bedrooms (each being 8' x 7'). The house is an unpainted wooden structure situated on two acres of cultivated garden land.

The X family has a mixed ethnic background -- the mother being Indian and the father Ukrainian. The father came to Canada at age 9. The X family consists of the parents and nine children who range in age from 3 to 19. They are a close-knit and very affectionate family. Mutual affection is obvious.

Mr. X works as a labourer on construction. The vagaries of Manitoba weather allow him to work approximately seven months during the year. During the off-season he draws unemployment insurance. His annual income including unemployment insurance has averaged $2900 over the past three years. In addition to this, the family receives a family allowance cheque monthly. The children and parents engage in no formal recreational activities.

The children are always clean and neatly dressed, although their clothing is obviously second-hand and the alterations not made in a very skilled manner.

Mr. X is fluent in the English language but his vocabulary is limited and often vulgar while the sentence structures are badly fractured. Mrs. X has a standard of oral English equivalent to her husband's with the exception that her vocabulary is more limited. The family does not own a television set.

In the school situation the X children have all had considerable difficulty. Their limited English has not allowed them to begin school on an equal basis with other children. They never seemed able to overcome this initial handicap. Of the five children now in junior high or high school three took eight years to complete the first six grades. One student completed the six grades in seven years and the other in six. The results of the five children who have entered a junior high school have been as follows:

Betty-Anne: Eight years in elementary school during which she was very passive, quiet and inhibited in behaviour. Upon entering junior high she became quite belligerent towards certain teachers and was a constant discipline problem. At the earliest possible time Betty-Anne left school. She secured work as a waitress in a small café, became a prostitute and is now in a detention home.

Walter: Eight years in an elementary school. At age 10 Walter was in trouble for stealing from his classmates. The thefts concerned pencil boxes, pens, etc. At age 12, Walter was caught stealing cigarettes from a store, was convicted and placed on probation. By age 14, the boy had six probations to his credit. At age 15 Walter was convicted of breaking and entering and sent to a Reform School. Upon serving his sentence he returned home and works for the same construction company as his father. He is reputed to be a hard-working boy and has been in no further difficulties.

Shirley: This student completed elementary school in six years but failed once in junior high. She enrolled in grade 10 and started a business education course. She withdrew before completing grade 10 because her poor clothing caused her embarrassment. She presently is working as a cashier in a grocery store and appears to enjoy her work.

Dorothy: This student spent eight years completing elementary school. Her junior high school was completed in three years, although Dorothy was in the lowest 10% of the class. She was a very quiet child in school and rarely spoke in class, to the extent that she would pretend she did not hear a question from the teacher. She also avoided school social activities and never attended "Sock-Hops", etc. At no time did she enter the noon-hour inter-room sports program. Although she successfully completed grade 9, she did not enroll in high school. She has been unable to find regular employment but is a considerable help to her mother in the home.

Sharon: Sharon is presently in grade 7 and is a keen but mediocre student; she is not retarded in the age-grade relationship. Sharon attended kindergarten (a church-operated one for families unable to afford fees to private kindergartens). She seems to be interested in her studies as well as the sports program in the school. In addition she is a member of the school choir.

Sharon has been very popular with neighbours of the X family. She often stays overnight at the neighbours and these same persons supply her with suitable clothing. She has gone to the beach, drama productions, movies, etc. with the family and has a wider experiential background than her siblings.

Four other children are still in the elementary grades. They appear to fit the pattern of learning characteristic of this family in terms of poor language ability, passivity, lack of interest.

General

Walter, Shirley, Dorothy and Betty-Anne were interviewed and an attempt was made to determine their feelings towards school. The feeling was positive in a physical sense. They liked the school and remembered it as a pleasant place. They had pleasant recollections of books, films, pep rallies, etc.

They had recollections of feelings of inadequacy and humiliation and somehow felt that this related to their poor clothing. They all felt they were "dumb" in comparison to other children. This concept persists and they feel they have done quite well in life considering they are a "dumb" family.

The parents also accept the fact that their children are "dumb" and accept the lack of academic success in a philosophical manner.

CASE STUDY NO. 2: MRS. HEAR AND HER FAMILY

Mrs. Hob, Mrs. Hear's mother, lives in a somewhat shabby house near a bridge; she is 68 years of age. She married when she was twenty in St. Thomas, Ontario, where she had lived with her parents and attended school, completing grade 6, and working in cafés, etc. during her teen years. In 1929, she and her husband came to Treherne, where they worked on a farm as labourers. They had two children, one son and one daughter. The husband is reported to have been unfaithful to his wife, who moved to Winnipeg with the children in 1948. The son was then 16 years old and the daughter 14. Mrs. Hob rented a small house in West St. Paul and worked at the Middlechurch Home. She maintained herself and the children, who left school and worked when opportunities presented themselves. When the daughter married in 1950 at the age of 16 years and the son shifted for himself, Mrs. Hob began her wanderings, which amounted to job and shelter searches. She lived on the following streets: Elgin, Bannatyne, Langside, Carleton, Vaughan, Balmoral, Charles, Schultz, Enniskillen, before moving in 1963 to Jarvis, where she has stayed since because her daughter lives a few doors down. Her son is staying with her. He didn't marry and has become very introverted because of an accident in which a child was killed. Although he was exonerated, the effects of the experience are very noticeable. He is employed as a truck driver in the city and works steadily. He pays his share of the home expenses. A boarder who is in his thirties stays with them and feels very close to the family.

Mrs. Hob receives her pension and makes it do. She detests welfare assistance and has received financial help only during a period of time in 1963 when she had a major operation, and again in 1968 when the operation had to be repeated. She has always had a job when she was able to work. She would like to move to a cleaner part of the city where she could have a nice big front yard with lots of flowers so she could sit outside and enjoy the peace and quiet. Mrs. Hob's attitude to life and the future is healthy indeed. She knows she can't move because of the expense involved and her daughter's nearness to her. While she is not resigned, she has found a way to be content with "the way it is".

The daughter, now Mrs. Hear, left school shortly after the move from the country to the city was made. She married at age 16 in 1950, and had her first child in 1951. There are now eight children, four boys and four girls, varying in age from 9 to 18. Housing has always been a major problem. The family has lived on Logan, Gwendoline, McDermot, and Bannatyne Avenues. They moved to Red Lake, Ontario, where Mr. Hear worked in the mines, but returned after four months to live on Andrews and then Jarvis in 1961. The family had steadily increased over the years, and the husband deserted the home in 1958. He and his wife just couldn't get along any more. However, they tried to live together several times until 1961, when the mother moved the family to Jarvis with City Welfare assistance. He has not been seen by the family since. Provincial Welfare took over her case and is still maintaining the home.

The oldest girl had a child out of wedlock at age 17; Mrs. Hear kept the child, but would not allow the daughter to return home. The family was so upset by her presence that this action was necessary. The daughter is now expecting her second child with no possibility of marriage. Mrs. Hear refuses to accept the second child.

The other children are all in school. Three of the four boys are in special education classes; the girls are just managing their studies. The older boy (sixteen) has had one brush with the law on a breaking and entering charge and is on probation. He is two years behind the average advancement in school. Mrs. Hear does not expect the children to go very far in school. She would like them to learn a trade, but has doubts about their being able to succeed.

Mrs. Hear finds it a busy life but gets much encouragement from her mother, whom she sees daily. The children take part in all the community activities planned at R.B. Russell School and Stella Mission. They have sufficient food and clothing as long as she bargain hunts and mends clothes. The home is adequate in space and condition. Summer presents a problem since there is a lack of activities for the children during the day. Her brother does haul out the tent and supplies to the Whiteshell for her and the whole family camps out as long as possible. There is a television receiver and a radio in the house.

Mrs. Hear bowls and plays bingo as her form of recreation. This is a fairly stable family, but past experiences have left their effects on the children, especially the boys.

SUMMARY AND COMMENTS

Points of Similarity in the Two Families

1. Strong family affection and loyalty
2. No evidence of alcohol as a contributing factor to poverty
3. Large families
4. Poor school records
5. Some trouble with the law on the part of the boys
6. A girl in each family sexually involved
7. Poor educational background of parents
8. Poor self-image and general acceptance of way of life, with some exceptions.

Points of Difference

1. Residence
   - a. adequate housing (urban)
inadequate (semi-rural)
   - b. many moves (urban)
stable (semi-rural)
2. Income
   - welfare for second generation - urban
   - self-sustaining - semi-rural
3. Separated parents - urban
   A stable marriage - semi-rural
4. Television in the home - urban
   No television - semi-rural

Certain stereotypes of poverty seem absent from one or both of these families, e.g. heavy drinking, broken home. However, other stereotypes do seem to be present: low expectations; large family; poor school performance; petty criminal activity; sexual involvement of some of the girls. The Committee made no attempt to draw conclusions from such limited evidence.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN?

Inner-City Schools Committee,
British Columbia Teachers' Federation

The purpose of this paper is to record some observations of the social and educational environment of two "urban" schools; one located in an "affluent" area of the city, and the other in a "poverty" area.

Considerable discussion regarding "equality of educational opportunity" is generated when decisions must be made regarding the allocations of financial and personnel resources within a large urban setting. Frequently, the resolution of the discussion is simply a distribution formula based upon enrollments. The inclusion of special factors of "need" which are less precise present too many political and administrative problems.

Others claim that the "equal treatment of unequals" results in something less than "equality of educational opportunity," and may, in fact, be widening the gulf between the "haves" and "have nots."

Can factors be identified in the social and educational milieu which would support a greater concentration of resources to meet the educational needs of children in "poverty" sections of the city?

PHYSICAL SETTING

The two schools selected for study are both in relatively older areas of the city, and are thus traditional-style structures. The school located in the higher socio-economic region of the city has a park-like setting among lawns and trees, and is surrounded by a prestigious residential district. (For convenience, this school will be referred to in this report as "Affluent Elementary School.")

The contrasting school is located directly on one of the main traffic arteries of the city, and is in a setting of old homes -- many in poor repair -- and heavy industry. (For convenience, this school will be referred to as "Poverty Elementary School.")

Site Size

Not only does Affluent Elementary have pleasanter surroundings, but it also has a greater site size. Its 461 students are accommodated on a site of 4.83 acres (.010 acres per child). While this is not large compared to most standards, it exceeds the 2.18 acres (.004 acres per child) provided for the 504 children at Poverty Elementary School.

Recreational Facilities

The small amount of playground space for children at Poverty Elementary is unfortunate because of the total lack of any other type of recreational facility or playground within the school attendance area. In contrast, the students at Affluent Elementary have access to an indoor skating rink, swimming pool, library, gym, and parks within six or seven blocks of the school. In addition, a large proportion of these children are in families having memberships in private recreational clubs in the city.

The evidence would indicate that poverty restricts the amount and variety of recreational experiences for children in "poorer" regions of the city. The relationships between constructive recreational activity and social and motor development have been well established. The implications for education are apparent.

Homes

The homes in the Poverty School attendance area are characteristically of three types -- old, poor quality single-family dwellings (which often house many persons in addition to the "family"); old, poor quality multi-family dwellings or apartments; and new, but "cheaply-constructed," low-rental apartments. There are some exceptions -- some families have well-maintained homes, although none are "deluxe".

The children attending Affluent School come from very different homes. With the exception of those who live in high-rental deluxe apartments, the children come from "high-priced," single-family homes. In these situations, children frequently have their own rooms, with adequate space for quiet reading or study, or working on personal projects. This is in contrast to the crowded, often unsuitable environment in which some children from Poverty School must attempt to work or study.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

Data regarding the socio-economic status of the two areas is not readily available. The most useful data source for this report was a study compiled in 1967 which identified twenty "local areas" within the city, and provided comparative socio-economic data for each. Unfortunately, the most recent data available at that time were from the 1961 Census. Also, it must be recognized that figures given are arithmetic means for the entire area. While areas were described so as to be as homogeneous as possible, there is obviously some variation within any given area. About two-thirds of the Affluent Elementary School attendance area is located in one of these areas, with the remaining one-third in an adjacent area. (When there is wide divergence between the data for the two areas an "average" is presented here). Poverty Elementary School attendance area represents about one-fourth of one of the "local areas" defined, and casual observation would indicate that it is probably one of the "poorest" sections of that local area.

Thus, while the data in the table given should not be interpreted as representing any degree of precision for 1970, they serve as a basis of comparison between the two school attendance districts. The relative standing of the two districts has probably not changed significantly. Table 1 provides comparative information regarding selected socio-economic indicators.

Table 1. Socio-economic Status of Residents of Poverty and Affluent School Areas, 1961

Indicator	Poverty School Area[1]	Affluent School Area
Employable male labour force "looking for work"	9 per cent	1-3/4 per cent
Average annual income of wage earners	$4,500	$9,000
Percentage of persons employed engaged in professional or managerial occupations	8 per cent[2]	60 per cent
Owners occupying own homes	64 per cent[3]	85 per cent

[1] A report prepared for the Poverty School Attendance area in 1968 estimated that 40 per cent of the families were dependent upon welfare.

[2] A number of these are small store owners or operators.

[3] This figure may be somewhat smaller in 1970 because of the number of low-rental apartments which have replaced older homes.

95/96

For both areas the data reported show that approximately 62 to 64 per cent of families have children. However, in the "Poverty" area the number of children aged 0 to 4 years was 610 per 1,000 females aged 20-44 years. By comparison, in the "Affluent" area there were only 410 per 1,000. Generally speaking, larger families and more young children were found in the "Poverty" school area. (Unofficial surveys would indicate that as birth control methods have become more generally known and practised among lower socio-economic segments, the magnitude of the difference in fertility ratios between these affluent and poverty areas is being reduced.)

The 1967 study consolidated the data for each local area to derive an index, as a basis for ranking areas by socio-economic status. On a scale which had a range of 109 points, the "Affluent" area was computed as highest (8.4 points), while the area incorporating Poverty Elementary School was seventeenth of twenty (108.0 points).

Having established that significant differences in the socio-economic background do exist from area to area within a large urban setting, the question remains "How is this difference reflected in the school?"

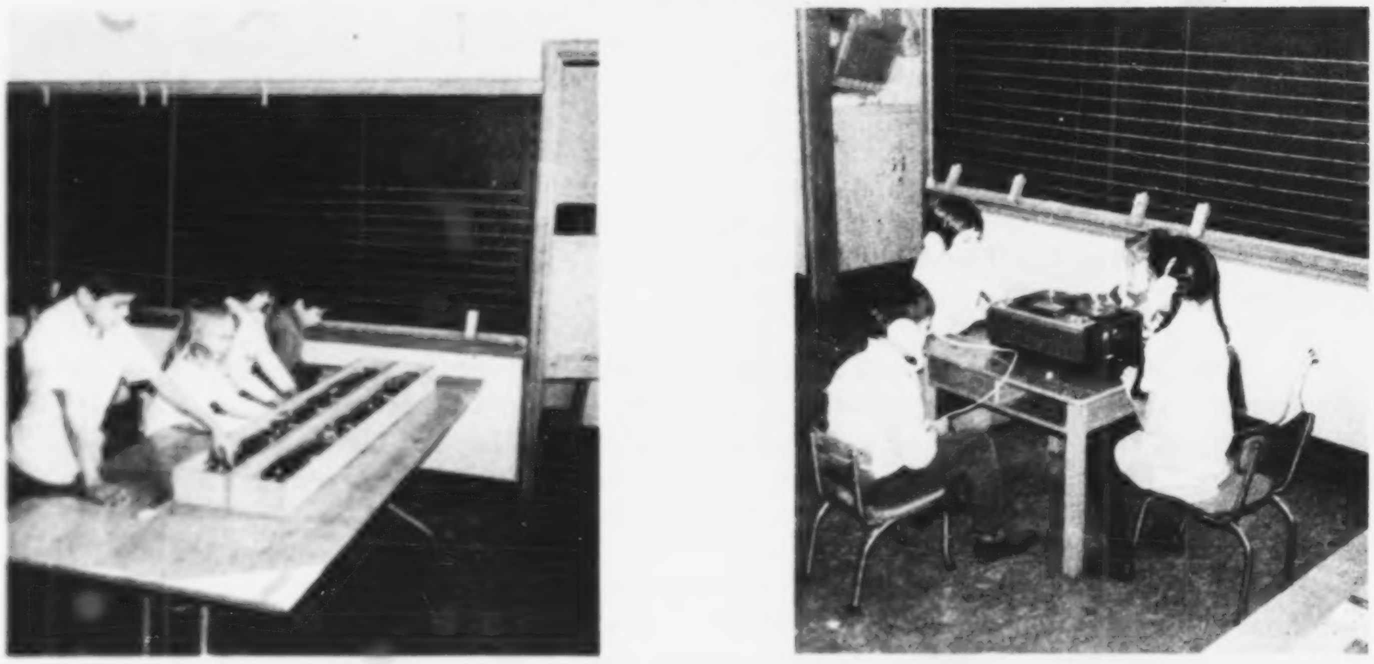
CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN

Nationality

Almost 100 per cent of the students attending Affluent Elementary School are "white", and come from homes where English is the mother tongue. In contrast, the student body of Poverty Elementary School was described in 1969 as follows:

Oriental - 25 per cent
Anglo-Saxon - 20 per cent
Italian - 19 per cent
Native Indian - 6 per cent
Other (English as a second language) - 30 per cent

Many families arrive in Canada having expended most of their personal resources in making the move from their mother country. Faced with a relatively high standard and cost of living here they are obliged to settle initially in "lower" socio-economic areas, at least until they are able to find employment and save sufficiently to move to residential areas outside the inner-city. Thus one correlate of a poverty area, which has significance for the public school, is a concentration of diverse ethnic groups. While this could be considered an enriching educational environment for children, it can only be made so as adequate personnel are available to work with children to assist them in the development of basic skills. Only as a child develops adequate communication skills and self-confidence can he participate in the sharing process which will make a multi-cultural environment rewarding. Much personalized attention is desirable if educational development for each child is to be built upon his unique background of experiences.



Children of many races work together
at
Poverty Elementary School

Transiency

As families are able to move out to "better" residential areas; as some move from one "low-rental" accommodation to another; as personal situations in the family require relocating some or all members of the family, children move in and out of Poverty Elementary more frequently than in Affluent Elementary. From September 1, 1969 to January 31, 1970, 134 students transferred into Poverty School. Seventy-seven of these came from other schools in the city (many from neighboring districts of similar socio-economic status); 25 came from other cities in the province; 18 came from Canadian provinces other than British Columbia; five came from foreign countries; and nine came from unidentified areas. In the same period, 101 students transferred out of the school. Many of those transferring out were the same children who had transferred in earlier in the same school year.

In contrast, at Affluent Elementary School 16 children transferred in, and 27 transferred out during the same period of time.

The high rate of transiency characteristic of poverty areas precludes the possibility of initiating a meaningful educational experience for many children in the public school. Some period of time is necessary to build confidence in the child so that he feels comfortable in a new environment of teachers and peers; time is needed for diagnosis of the child's strengths and weaknesses, and for determining the most effective means of working with the child. A child who moves frequently may never have the opportunity to become known by any professional teacher as an individual with his own unique characteristics. His educational experience in public schools has little "success potential."

Learning Disabilities

The claim is made frequently in the literature that students who come from impoverished and insecure social environments are more likely to exhibit a variety of learning disabilities. The city school district Research and Special Services Division provides to all schools an individual assessment service for students who seem to have learning problems beyond the school's capacity to diagnose. In the period September 1, 1969 to January 31, 1970, the Division received 64 requests from Poverty Elementary School for "individual assessment," compared to 11 requests from Affluent Elementary School.

These data would seem to indicate a positive correlation between poverty and learning problems in the public school.

I.Q. and Achievement Test Scores

There is considerable disagreement regarding precisely what is being measured by I.Q. and Achievement Tests. There does seem, however, to be a positive correlation between average scores on these instruments and achievement at school. Because various reading and mathematical skills become the tools for further learnings, it is of interest to compare average scores of students in Poverty Elementary with those of students in Affluent Elementary.

Group Otis Scholastic Aptitude Tests were given throughout the district in five successive years, 1962 to 1966. An average was computed for each school over the period, and percentiles established (based on 50,000 pupils). The five-year averages appear as follows:

School	Average	Percentile
Affluent Elementary School	121.4	74th
Poverty Elementary School	105.4	29th

In 1968, similar tests were administered, with no significant change in relative standing of these two schools.

During recent years there has been a reduction in the use of standardized achievement tests, and a reluctance to have average scores of schools published. However, data are available for some basic reading and arithmetic skills in previous years, which indicate a consistent pattern of performance (Table 2).

Table 2. Standardized Achievement Test Scores in Reading and Arithmetic

Test	Median Score of Poverty Elementary School	Median Score of Affluent Elementary School
ARITHMETIC		
Grade 2, (1965)		
District Survey of Arithmetic Skills (1964)	92.2--13 Percentile	167.3--79 Percentile
District Survey of Arithmetic Skills	70.5--9 Percentile	165.5--81 Percentile
Grade 3, (1965)		
District Survey of Arithmetic Skills	73.0--8 Percentile	126.3--57 Percentile
Grade 4, (1968)		
District Survey of Arithmetic Skills	35.7--30 Percentile	47.0--65 Percentile
READING		
Grade 3, (1967)		
Metropolitan Reading:		
Vocabulary	18-21 Percentile	31.5--65 Percentile
Comprehension	17-24 Percentile	25--63 Percentile
Grade 5		
California Reading Test	Grade Equiv. 5.9	Grade Equiv. 7.4
	(City Median 6.9)	
Grade 6		
District Survey (given at Grade 6.3)		
Vocabulary	31.4--Grade Equiv. 5.9	39.1--Gr. Equiv. 8.4
Comprehension	35.8--Grade Equiv. 5.6	43.9--Gr. Equiv. 8.1

It might be predicted that if fewer children from the Poverty School area are successful in achieving an adequate mastery of basic skill subjects, then a smaller proportion of them will successfully complete high school, or go on to post-secondary education or specialized vocational training. Forced into the labor force without adequate preparation, they are likely to become members of the unemployed or under-employed, thus beginning the cycle again. The cyclical interrelationship of poverty and education is much too apparent.

Age-Grade Distribution

Where traditional grading and promotion procedures are used, one would expect, on the basis of the preceding data, that a larger number of students in Poverty Elementary School than in Affluent Elementary would be over-age for their grade. An examination of class enrolment registers from approximately ten years ago certainly indicates such a difference. However in recent years the policy of the district has been to place children with their age peers, and then to provide appropriate instruction for each child. Thus, in both Affluent Elementary School and Poverty Elementary School the largest proportion of students are found in the "grade" corresponding to their age. In spite of this policy, the number of students at Poverty Elementary who are slightly over-aged is considerably greater than that of Affluent Elementary. (Table 3).

Table 3. Age-Grade Placement at
Poverty and Affluent Elementary Schools

Grade	Typical Year of Birth	No. Born One Year Earlier		No. Born Two Year Earlier	
		Affluent	Poverty	Affluent	Poverty
6	1958	8	22	1	10
5	1959	8	17	0	3
4	1960	4	27	0	2
3	1961	4	23	0	0
2	1962	4	17	0	2
1	1963	1	4	0	2
TOTAL		29	110	1	19

It should not be concluded that all 110 of the children at Poverty Elementary are one full year "behind." Some who were born in December may be, in fact, only a few days older than their colleagues in the same grade who were born in January. The numbers are presented simply for comparative purposes. It would appear that 129/476 or 27 per cent of the students at Poverty Elementary are at least slightly over-age for their grade placement, compared to 30/389 or 7.7 per cent of the students at Affluent Elementary School.

Absenteeism

The literature regarding "inner-city" children frequently suggests that the incidence of absenteeism is higher among schools in these areas. However, a comparison of rates of absenteeism between Poverty and Affluent Schools showed no significant difference, with Poverty Elementary recording a slightly better attendance record. Some of the teachers from Poverty Elementary observe that children are often sent to school when they have minor illnesses because there is no one at home to care for them. A parent in this area is likely to be a wage-earner who would suffer a loss in pay by missing a day's work -- a loss which cannot be absorbed by a subsistence-level budget.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS

The most crucial dimensions of any educational environment are those related to the persons interacting. Much of the preceding discussion relates to the students, but what of the teachers?

Qualifications and Experience

The literature suggests that teachers tend to prefer teaching in more affluent areas, and thus, that lower qualified and inexperienced teachers are likely to be found in "inner-city" poverty areas. The assumption is made that as positions become available in "better" areas of the city, teachers will transfer. In this study, teachers of both Poverty Elementary and Affluent Elementary represented a range of academic qualifications and experience. Similarly, in both schools, teachers appeared to be actively involved in their work with children, and to be utilizing modern techniques of individualization of instruction. It could not be said that Poverty Elementary School was hampered because of the "quality" of its staff. However, some comparative data were observed.

Of the present teaching force at Affluent Elementary 9/16 or 56 per cent have a "Professional" Certificate, i.e., have at least four years' university training, compared to 8/19 or 42 per cent at Poverty Elementary. The median years of experience of the staff at Affluent Elementary is 5-1/2 years, compared to 2 years at Poverty Elementary. When arithmetic means are used for comparison, Affluent Elementary staff has a 10-year average compared to Poverty Elementary's 5 years.

Service in Present School

The teaching staffs were also compared for length of service in their present schools. The median length of service at Affluent Elementary was 3.0 years, compared to 1.0 years at Poverty Elementary. The arithmetic mean at Affluent Elementary is 3.1 years (10 of 16 staff members have been in the school two or more years), while the mean at Poverty Elementary is 2.4 years (six of 19 staff members have been in the school two or more years). Many possible explanations could be given for the shorter period of service in Poverty Elementary: teachers may prefer to live in other areas of the city and to work in a school closer to their homes: or, they may find the emotional strain of working with children from multi-problem situations to be too taxing: or, the volume of work required in attempting to provide for the educational needs of a widely diverse group of children -- from a variety of cultural and social backgrounds -- may be too exhausting. However, there is some indication that an increasing number of teachers are planning for themselves a career in "inner-city" schools. Procedures must be found to provide these persons with the supportive services required for them to be successful and able to persevere in their work with children from "difficult" situations.

Absenteeism

Some literature related to inner-city education makes reference to low teacher morale, which is often evidenced, in part, through high rates of absenteeism among teachers. In the period from September 1 to December 30, 1969, Poverty Elementary School teachers missed a total of 47 days, or an average of 2.47 days per teacher. In the same period, Affluent Elementary teachers missed a total of 40 days, or an average of 2.50 days per teacher. Thus, absentee rates would not indicate any reluctance of Poverty Elementary teachers to report to work. The number of extra-curricular projects and activities found in the school could also be considered positive indicators of teacher morale at Poverty Elementary. An enthusiastic and supportive administration may contribute substantially to this morale.

SUMMARY

The data compiled would indicate that students attending Poverty Elementary School come from a social background that could not be expected to provide experiences or attitudes which are supportive of educational programs. Hampered by minimal school playground space, an abundance of heavy industry and busy traffic arteries, and a lack of recreational facilities, the opportunities for constructive developmental activities are limited. As would be predicted, children from this area perform at lower scholastic levels than their peers in more affluent areas of the city, and are more frequently referred for "individual assessment" of learning disabilities. There are more "over-age" children, a larger variety of cultural backgrounds, and a higher rate of transiency among students from Poverty Elementary School. Although teachers are competent and display good morale, the teachers at Poverty Elementary, on the average have lower academic qualifications, lower total experience, and move from their position in the school more frequently, when compared with their colleagues at Affluent Elementary School.

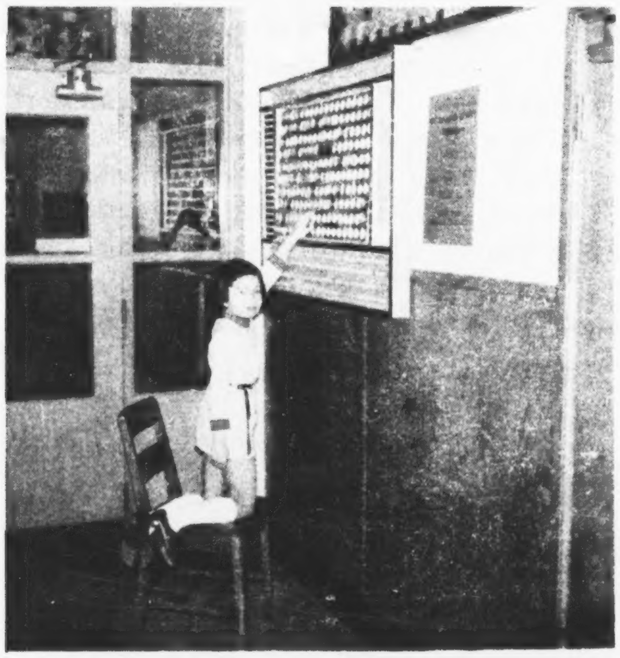
CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORTS

The staff at Poverty Elementary School are not negativists. They are not inclined to be immobilized by considering the situation hopeless, and the resources inadequate. Through active co-operation with other community agencies, many students are receiving individual counselling and personal support. Volunteers from the community and from the high school work alongside the teaching staff to assure greater individual attention. Using "home-made" partitions and equipment, "learning assistance centers" have been established. Effective procedures have been implemented for use of excellent audio-visual materials -- both school-owned and district-owned. Individuals and groups have assisted financially in providing funds for additional equipment beyond that available through district allocations. Effective individualized programs are found in many classrooms.

Teachers at Poverty Elementary School display some satisfaction -- perhaps even pride -- in the activities in which they are involved. But the statement is often heard, "There's so much more we could do -- if we just had the funds!" More paid, trained aides to develop materials, or to assist with the children -- more field trips to provide enriching experiences which are denied children from "poverty" areas -- more systematic programs for pre-school children -- etc., etc.

Schools in poverty areas of the city have demonstrated their capacity and their willingness to undertake a significant contribution to the personal development of children from poverty areas. But to provide "equal educational opportunity" to children from "unequal" situations requires a significant concentration of resources. These may have to come, in part, from senior levels of government. Dollars spent in these areas would seem to be a sound investment in human capital.

At Poverty Elementary...



Gloria selects a filmstrip from the rack in the hall...

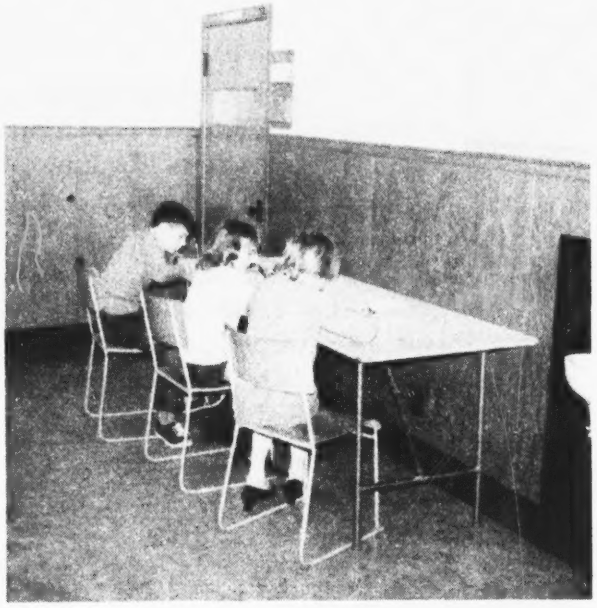
...and shares it with some of her classmates in the cloakroom.

The techniques are successful -- who will suppy more audio-visual materials?

At Poverty Elementary...

When aides or volunteers are available more children get individual attention...

Some work independently in a corner of the hall...



Partitions may not be elaborate or beautiful, but in this setting they are necessary and functional...

The educators at Poverty Elementary have shown their iniative and ability ...more dollars will facilitate greater developments.

THE "CITIZENS MINUS" IN EDUCATION

I. A. Lee

> "The Indian people worked very hard, just like a team of football players, to try and get control of the ball called "Indian education". It was disgusting for the Indian people that they could never get their hands on the ball, for it was tossed back and forth between Federal and Provincial players. There was complete confusion at the local level. Now the Indians were in the game and now they were not. And this is the way it is today. We don't know if we are coming or going."[1]
>
> Mary Ann Lavalee
> Broadview, Saskatchewan.

A quick glance at any of the statistics on the Indian people in relation to the rest of Canada's population is evidence enough that the very people whom the Hawthorn-Tremblay Report (1966) urged should be treated as "citizens plus" have been treated as no more than "citizens minus."

Education has been regarded as the key institution in our society, and its importance, as far as the registered Indians are concerned, could easily be measured by the eight-figured allotment to education alone which amounts to approximately one-half of all the funds voted by

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[1] Proceedings of the 7th Annual Conference. The Canadian Association for Indian and Eskimo Education. Ottawa, 1969. p. 80.

Parliament for the work of the Indian Affairs Branch. The question is, with all these accountable educational opportunities, in many instances "equal" Indian and white education facilities, why are the great majority of the Indian children not successful in school? Why do they drop out at Grades 7, 8, 9 or 10? Many of the concerned are puzzled and continue to ask the question of why do so many of the Indian people not rise to the opportunities that exist?

Some answers will be sought in this paper by looking at a few major areas regarding the Indian child and the way in which we tried to "educate" him. It is essential that we bear in mind that Indian educational statistics do not exist in a vacuum; they are reflections of the total social, economic and political situation in our society.

PROBLEM AREAS

A more appropriate, but somewhat less sophisticated, heading for this section would be "CAUSES OF FAILURE IN INDIAN EDUCATION"; it would not, however, do justice to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development for the tremendous efforts which they must make to provide facilities satisfactory to both the Indians and the educationists. Their good intentions show through in the progress they have made in areas such as encouraging Indian youths to attend school or altering the approach to teaching English to Indian children. In the Ontario Region, the school enrolment figures for registered Indians show an increase of 812 pupils in 1970 over the past year; and visitors to federal and non-federal schools will be pleased to note that although teaching ESL (English as a Second Language) is not yet an established procedure, Indian children are no longer severely punished for speaking in their own native dialects.

Such progress, unfortunately, can only be seen as very insignificant when stacked against the drop-out rate, the number of youths involved in unlawful behaviour, the increasing number of young unwed mothers, the number of men and women who earn less than $2,000 a year or who are unemployed or unemployable and the large numbers of Indian people who survive on welfare. In a real sense these are not so much problems of the Indian people as they are problems of the poor in general who have been caught in the historical cycle of being at a disadvantage and being poor. Of course, in the case of the Indian people, the situation is further complicated by cultural differences as well as the existence of many economically unproductive reservations.

Aims and Objectives

To measure the degree of failure or amount of achievement, the aims and objectives of our educational system will be used as a yardstick.

Kent Gooderham, then Assistant Chief Superintendent of the Indian Affairs Branch Education Services (1967), pointed out that the fundamental aim of Indian education is "to ensure that Indian children have every opportunity to develop and mature into full citizenship and to utilize all their inherent potentialities." (p.1)

In Choosing a Path (1968) the IAB (Indian Affairs Branch) stated its belief that this aim is "best achieved when the Indian children go to the same schools as other Canadian children." (p.8)

Accordingly, in aiming for educational equality for Indians in recent years, educators have placed increasing emphasis on integration. In practical terms, there is really little choice for many northern Indians whose traditional modes of livelihood are made increasingly less satisfying, and in some instances, impossible; they are forced to seek wage employment in the white man's world. In order to enable those new to this competitive field to fully participate in modern society, education, both academic and vocational, is essential. For behind the push for integration lies the idea that education provides one with freedom of choice. Only with an equal amount of education can the Indian people of Canada compete with their fellow citizens across the country, and only then can they choose freely where and how they wish to live.

The unfortunate thing, as James Mulvihill (1963) saw it is that, "an Indian integrated school exists only in the mind of some educators, it has no existence in fact." (p.4)

In all cases, aims and objectives reflect only what a particular group conceives as the ideal. What is actually happening, what the participants think is happening and what really should be happening are of three different dimensions. Having dealt briefly with the ideal, we will proceed to discuss the dimensions.

Teachers, Textbooks and Curriculum

In Ontario all qualified teachers are products of the provincial training system which, apart from a short and inadequate orientation course, so far offers no special professional courses to assist teachers who are involved in the education of Indian children. A hopeful start, however, has been made to meet this desperate need in a five-week summer course which is to commence at Trent University in Peterborough this year.

The Committee for the Course for the Teachers of Indian Children (1968) estimated that some 4,350 teachers were involved in teaching some 28,000 children of Indian ancestry in Ontario. (p.2) (This estimate seems to have been based on the assumption that for every registered Indian there is one who is non-registered). Although statistics are unavailable, one strongly suspects that not many of these teachers have benefited from courses, such as those offered at various universities by Departments of Anthropology, on Indian language, history and culture of pre- and post-contact periods as well as on Indians in the contemporary setting. Not many could claim to have done research on their own to learn about the specific nature and problems of the

Derek G. Smith's research findings from the Mackenzie River Delta (1969) indicated that there was a strong dissociation between the occupational aspirations of the Indian, Metis and Eskimo students and the teachers' conception of them. What the native people say they want was compared with what the white teachers think the native people want, and the resultant correlation was minus .35. (p.71)

From studies of six reservations in the American West, Nimmicht, McKinley and Bayne of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development (1969) found that "cultural incongruence and the teachers' inability to cope with it leads to a 'vicious circle of low expectations and low standards.' When the teacher is unable to elicit performance up to standards she has earlier set, she lowers them until finally the Indian children meet some of the lower criteria of success. 'Teaching according to these new standards, the teacher experiences her first feelings of achievement, and is thus reinforced in keeping the low standards and in believing that the Indian children are incapable of meeting standards that are any higher. The vicious circle is then complete -- the teacher teaches according to low standards, and thus the children achieve only drastically lowered educational goals, reinforcing the teachers' use of low standards, which finally assures low achievement.'" (p.14)

There should be little doubt that retraining of teachers is an urgent matter; for whatever its purpose, accredited education must filter through the school system by way of teachers. Obviously teacher retraining alone is inadequate and along with it must go a corresponding adjustment in the whole gamut of teaching aids, methods, audio-visual materials, standard classroom practices, and so forth. We live in an age of specialization and, for the sake of efficiency, cannot make excess demands on the time and energy of the resourceful teachers. We cannot demand that a teacher devise new and relevant curriculum to suit the students as he sees fit, invert and implement teaching methods and techniques to cope with children of another culture, continually point out the errors and omissions in the history textbooks or try to rephrase or re-illustrate mathematical problems so that they make sense to his pupils, and on top of all this teach the children a set of graded items which, according to the syllabus, should be covered within a given term.

Clearly it is the duty of those responsible to design a suitable curriculum, primarily patterned on the pupils' environment, including for example contents of local history of Indian communities, or even such practical economic guidance as how best to deal with the Hudson's Bay Company buyer in order to obtain an equal footing in the bargaining process. E.S. Rogers of the Royal Ontario Museum, however, pointed out the difficulty that many Indian communities simply do not possess a written history that is readily usable for teaching purposes, and suggested more funds be made available for research in this area conducted perhaps by capable persons from the community with its elder members fully consulted.

Indian community in which they teach, or to learn about the background of the Indian children to whom they offer instruction. Not many are interested enough to make time to participate in local Indian activities, to visit and live with the local people, or learn even the rudiments of Ojibway or Cree to indicate a desire to communicate with the Indian people who are not conversant in English. If we accept Dora L. Skene's (1966) statement that "a teacher's basic training takes place within himself," (p. 72) or Emerson's dictum that the secret of all education is respect for the pupil, how then could the majority of these teachers develop a sense of genuine respect for their Indian pupils if they are ignorant of their pupils' background?

Instant respect for the "unknown" is made more difficult by the efficiency of the mass media in the culture from which the teachers come. Hollywood productions, radio and television programs and commercials, newspapers and magazines which dominate and condition our cultural responses have created an untrue and unfavorable image of the Indian which is still being perpetuated today.

Even school textbooks reflect the views of the authors who have been so conditioned. Research done by the University Women's Club of Port Credit (1968) on the Canadian Indian in Ontario's school texts showed that there are "enormous omissions" in the information on Indians that is presented to Ontario school children from grades 2 through 8. The little information given about Indians is chiefly on economy and technology, and includes "almost no material on religion, values, ethics or aesthetics." (p.18)

These emphases and omissions reflect, of course, what the dominant society considers to be important enough to include in the school curriculum. Noting the proficiency of our democratic system, the same curriculum with little alteration is used by all Ontario schools regardless of areas of ethnic concentration. Herein perhaps lies the ground-work for creating, if unintentionally, a situation in which Indian children are made to feel inferior by knowing what little and distorted information on Indian culture and history is presented (sometimes scornfully), and not knowing the vast amount that is omitted.

Norma Sluman examined five Canadian history textbooks (1964) and found that "there are startling errors of omission as well as commission; the ancient Indian religious beliefs are always contemptuously dismissed; the authors find it necessary to repeatedly point out the lack of cleanliness of the wigwams and the food while more important virtues go ignored; and once we reach the period of Confederation there creeps in that smug paternalism that so undermines Indian pride and imposes on him either lethargy or a destructive resentment." (p.1) Our teachers and other "educated" citizens who have been raised on these same or similar textbooks could hardly be condemned for their share in the treatment of the Indian people as "citizens minus."

Many writers have commented on the Indians' loss of identity; perhaps changing the curriculum in this direction would begin to help the younger Indians to regain this lost pride and to find new identities in the modern social system. At any rate, "it is now certain," said Bradshaw and Renaud (c. 1969) "that the curriculum to be developed for children of Indian communities cannot be identical to one designed for children from urban centres." (p.7)

It is also the duty of those responsible for assigning school texts to recall or withdraw textbooks found to be unfit for teaching, to encourage new writers to rewrite Canadian history truthfully not only for Indians but for all our Canadian youth. Experienced and resourceful teachers of the north must cooperate with the native people to evaluate present teaching methods, materials and classroom practices and implement changes where necessary. No doubt such mammoth tasks would be costly and time-consuming even if talents were readily available, but surely educators cannot afford not to make immediate attempts to overcome the odds for, as Jerry Hammersmith (1970) stressed, "it is not forgivable for us to keep moving in the direction of failure."

The implementation of the curricular and technical changes mentioned are within the means of the existing administrative system, and theoretically, could be accomplished without much upheaval. Structural changes are more radical and, since they require drastic alterations in related fields which are outside the existing educational system, could be more difficult to implement. Alex Sim, for instance, recommended for the nomadic Indians a corresponding educational service complete with nomadic teachers; while R.W. Dunning, of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Toronto, suggested a teacher-rotation system which was actually tested in British Columbia some years ago and proved successful, although many obstacles such as the problem of seniority or the voluntary mobility of teachers had to be overcome. This latter scheme, if carried out in full, would ensure all schools, in rich or poor districts, white or non-white, urban or isolated communities, an equal distribution of teachers of high and low calibre. One of the chief arguments for Professor Dunning's rotation system is that, hopefully, some of the desirable attitudes of the well adjusted and successful urban teachers could be imparted to, say, the Indian pupils of remote regions of northern Ontario. Although the proposal does not imply that all teachers in poor, native and isolated schools are of inferior quality, statistics do show that children in richer areas have greater opportunities to enter academic courses which lead to university entrance.

Statistics also seem to suggest that teaching the poor and the culturally disadvantaged may be challenging for a few but unrewarding for many. The April 4, 1970 Toronto Daily Star Special Report stated:

> At Deer Park Public School, near Yonge and St. Clair in north Toronto, 16 of the 28 teachers hold degrees; only three teachers were new to the system this year and the average teaching experience in Toronto is 7.8 years;

> At Park Public School, in the heart of the Regent Park subsidized housing area, only 11 of 56 teachers hold degrees; eight are new teachers and the average experience level is 5.9 years.

This disparity becomes even more glaring when these figures are viewed in the knowledge that children who are educationally disadvantaged are precisely the ones who need teachers with an exceptional amount of professional competence.

Suggestions have been put forward to the Department of Indian Affairs urging offers of larger salaries to lure some of the top urban teachers north to small isolated Indian communities. For two major reasons this scheme may not work: firstly, money does not produce dedicated teachers; and secondly, examples from the acquisition of university professors show that the larger and more prestigious universities have many distinguished professors of the land on their faculty staff, and yet their offer of salaries is meagre compared to that offered by many smaller and less known colleges. Obviously, the satisfaction one receives from a fruitful teaching and living experience is worth much more than what dollars alone could offer. The problem with education of Indians is how to make the learning process enjoyable for those who teach and those who are taught.

Other figures also serve to indicate some of the disastrous results of unrewarding teaching and unrewarding learning experiences. The above mentioned Star Report, for instance, pointed out that at Deer Park Public School 95% of its grade 8 graduates, as compared with 24% at the Park Public School go on to a five-year high school program which leads to university entrance. While in reference to general high school rate of completion, Messrs. Deiter and Currie (c. 1969) quoted the figures that only 6% of the Indian children complete high school as compared with 88% for the whole of Canada. (p.6)

Many of the difficulties in education faced by the poor among Indians and among urban whites are identical. For instance, a large proportion of the pupils from poor homes are made to feel inferior, classified as "slow learners", placed in opportunity classes, and directed towards vocational rather than academic education. The end result is that these students are rejected by the universities, the community colleges and, as well, some trade apprenticeship; they are thus, as the Star Report concludes, "destined for a life of low-paying jobs if not to poverty itself." And in the next generation the cycle repeats itself.

In Toronto, however, a new light beamed. Due perhaps in part to the lack of generations of subjection, of paternalistic treatment and to the lack of legal and historical bondage such as that attached to the reservation culture, eight mothers of these educationally disadvantaged pupils were able, in September 1969, to successfully organize and set up a private school in downtown Toronto with competent and dedicated teachers. The results have been remarkable.

The establishment of the Laneway Private School puts into the limelight the importance of the role of parents. It was the determination of these Toronto women, angry at the injustice done to their children, which led to their active participation in forming a new school in which they could exert some control over the making of policies concerning the education of their children. Such parental control over education is sorely lacking in most Indian communities. It should go without saying that minus the sanction of the Indian people themselves, changes for the better in curricula, textbooks, teaching aids, methods and materials and even teachers themselves will not appreciably improve the situation of Indian education today since they constitute only half the picture.

Let us now look at the other half and see why the two parts have not been combined to form an aesthetic whole.

Two Parts of a Picture

André Renaud's paper on Education from Within (1964) offered some insight into the nature of the dichotomy. In it, he pinpointed ten major culture traits in our large, predominantly white society and compared these with ten corresponding culture traits he delineated from his observations of Indian communities.

Briefly, the larger society is a talking and a literate society. It is scientific, urban, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic, as well as industrialized and commercialized. (And one may also add that it is a busy, noisy, competitive and time-conscious society). It is complex and, because of the increasing amount of specialization, requires inter-dependence locally as well as internationally. This is the society with which its members identify themselves, it is the society which is internationally recognized as Canada.

On the other hand, the Indian communities form a silent and non-literate society. (And one may also add that it is a slow-moving, peaceful -- at least scenerywise -- non-competitive and timeless society). It functions in a pre-scientific and empirical way based on direct and personal observation. It is traditional and homogeneous. It does not participate vitally in the industrialized larger society nor does it operate fully on the dollar system. Most Indian communities also have a small population. They are thus simple and undiversified (and one may add mainly kin-based) in structure. The in-group feeling is exceedingly strong. Father Renaud found that "among Indian people there is little psychological awareness or recognition that they need other human beings outside the reserves and that other human beings need them.... This is a very poor basis for integration of any kind." (p.8) However, Indian communities are well aware that they are far more Canadian than the larger society since they have no ancestral tie with any other country but Canada.

These traits then illustrate the extent to which the two parts of the picture vary. Although it is not impossible for these two segments to coexist side by side without interference from either side, it does seem improbable. Arnold Toynbee was reported (by Michael Alexander, 1968) to have said, "When a civilization meets a tribal society, it is always the latter which is necessarily disintegrated by the storm of psychic energy generated by the former. The psychological impact of the more complex society on the simple one is that of an explosion of energy." If that is the case, many of the Indian communities will have no choice but to integrate, and indeed, in many respects, disintegration seems to have already occurred.

Indian Voices

Almost all the reasons given by Indian students, both registered and non-registered, for leaving the educational system before completing high school, are of a cultural and socio-economic nature which is intricately involved with the cultural differences outlined by Father Renaud.

For the registered Indian children the Department of Indian Affairs provides three main types of schools across Canada: day schools, residential schools and hospital schools. The Indian day schools are located on the reservations or other Indian settlements and they accept all children who live in the area where no other appropriate educational facilities are available. The residential schools are boarding schools primarily for registered Indian children who are unable to attend day schools. They are generally owned by the Department but operated by various religious organizations and, in a few cases, owned by the latter as well, although the Department pays for the cost of maintaining the children. The hospital schools offer special instruction to registered Indian children who are confined to hospitals or sanatoria.

The very establishment of these different types of schools indicates the extent of the difficulty in Indian education. Many isolated Indian communities have such a small population that children of school age may number only a few. A visit to any of the one-room day schools will convince the visitor that the educational facilities are less than desirable. For instance, in Winisk, one white teacher, with an Indian teacher's aide, conducts a class of some 17 children varying in ages from 6 to 12 in the same classroom. And yet what other alternatives are there if one wishes to educate the youngsters but not to take them away from the warmth and security offered by their own homes?

Older children from this community of 135 persons could be flown to Fort Albany Residential School some 250 miles away. Only when these children reach the residential schools, which are efficient and have, perhaps, a more disciplinary atmosphere, do they really begin to progress academically, but they are of course already far behind other Canadian children. Although many children never become fully accustomed to the constant bells which systematically regiment the days and the weeks and demand exactly when the children are to do what, some have become thoroughly conditioned to the bells and like the regularity and time-conscious world of the so-called white man, making integration a much less painful process.

The existence of the hospital schools undeniably points to the fact that health is poor among the Indians. Poor health indicates unhygienic living conditions or poor diet and these in turn imply ignorance of sanitation or food values, or just plain poverty, or perhaps all of these. Again, we return to the historical cycle of poverty and the disadvantaged.

While on the topic of the disadvantaged, many of the non-registered Indians could be described as "citizens minus minus". For although there is little cultural difference between those Indians and Metis who possess Indian status and those who do not, the latter are not a Federal responsibility, and hence not Indians in a legal sense; they are thus left to fend for themselves on the same footing as any other non-Indians. Non-registered Indians must mingle with non-Indians in provincial schools without any special assistance. The same lack of special assistance from the Indian Affairs Branch applies when they migrate to the cities. For social, political and economic reasons the non-registered Indians are also unwelcomed by both the registered Indians on the reservations and the whites in towns and cities. In some cases non-registered Indians are despised by registered Indians on reservations, perhaps for having become enfranchised for a few hundred dollars which never lasted, or for marrying non-Indians as in the case of women; here jealousy may be another cause for the lack of cordial reception. White people in towns and cities may be unfriendly towards non-registered Indian migrants because many such migrants, under-educated and unskilled, need to go on welfare, the money for which of course comes from taxing those who earn their living. Funds for assisting registered Indians come direct from the treasury of the IAB and white people do not feel the pinch in their wallets. In some cases the white people actually welcome Indians who have a band number; for example, it is much easier for registered Indian students to find boarding houses while attending school in the cities as landladies are assured that the rent will be paid.

Let us now hear from some of the Indian migrants who have come to Toronto from various parts of Ontario.

Linda S., a non-registered Indian from Hudson, who left school at age 15½ and did not finish grade 8, had this to say:

> I didn't like it. (Public School in Hudson). I didn't do well in school work. When I didn't know how to do something, I never asked the teacher. Other Indian kids were the same. I guess it's because we were shy. Some teachers go away, some stay about two years. At grade 5 and 6 we had an Indian teacher and he was good, all the others were non-Indians. Teachers used to always ask me questions and I didn't know the answers. I just couldn't learn. Kids used to say I was dumb. They were mostly all white kids in the school. Maybe if I went to an Indian school it might be different.

Mary C., a registered Indian from the Sault Ste. Marie area who spent eight years (from age 8 to 16) in six different foster homes, recalled:

> I got spilled in grade 9 and the Indian Affairs got me back. I did some correspondence courses but did terrible in French. I used to be a Treaty Indian, now I'm not. I heard something about when you're after 21, you're not Treaty any more. I used to go to a residential school, it's just like a reformatory, it had a high fence on the side of the highway. Indians on reserves are not used to live like that, they're free to do what they like. The teachers were all white, the superintendent was white, he's not qualified, he should have taken sociology or psychology or something. He looks down on Indians.

Mary H. from Sioux Lookout, who had only grade 4 education herself, remembered well the time when her 9-year-old daughter ran away from boarding school after being punished for misbehaving:

> It was early spring and cold, and it was raining real hard; she walked all night (about 15 miles) and came home. She didn't want to go back, so I kept her in the house for two days. Then the police came and took her back. I guess the teacher strapped her for running away.

Delmar F., a registered Indian from Six Nations, who completed grade 9, said:

> Education in itself is a farce. It should be pertinent and relevant to what the guys have to do. If a guy wants to be a technician he doesn't need extracurricular activities. The guy should be taught just what he wants to do. Why should they be educated to begin with if their goal is not to come to the city? One guy in Ajax figured we can solve the Indian problem by all running back to the reserves. Why don't the white people all going back to where they come from? Bitching around this Indian problem and all because they started it. The white man has to get educated. Indians should be teaching Indian kids. Education (as it is now) processes people to memorize. A person doesn't learn anything. Worse for Indians because they are totally alienated. As soon as a guy is able to leave he's glad to get out. Free again to breathe, to go back with his people; life is not the same.

Delmar A., a registered Indian from Cape Croker, completed grade 10, pointed out what he considered to be the crux of the matter:

> Education is not geared to reservation life. They should change the education system, it should be geared to the environment of the people. For example, father is a trapper, he gets a beaver and sells it to the Hudson's Bay Company.... They should teach economics that way to get involved with the big city. Should teach them their fathers' way in school. Kids should be taught in the Indian language for the first six years. But the government decides everything. We got the Bible, they have the country.... Education is becoming obsolete, it doesn't make any difference if you get educated or not. Before a B.A. was something, now a B.A. means nothing.

These few short statements reveal some important aspects regarding education of Indian children. The turnover rate of teachers is high; in certain instances there may be as many as two or three different teachers within the same academic year. Few teachers and counsellors can speak the native dialect. The process of integration, as far as the Indian people are concerned, suffers great drawbacks in that the white people, especially in the northern regions, hold the trump cards in all spheres, social, economic, political and even religious.

Power Structure

Most Indians, particularly in the north, are unaccepted by white people socially. Take Moosonee, for instance. Jack Downey, the Community Development Officer, estimated that with over 70% Indian population perhaps less than 3% are accepted as members at the Air Force Base which has modern and well-equipped recreation facilities. Membership at the Base is by invitation only and the few Indians who are members happen to have been employees at the Base for many years. The majority of the whites do not stay in the community for long, generally less than two years, while amongst those who do stay are several religious-minded white persons who have come to the north to do service for the native people, they belong to the church groups and help the Indians to organize activities but never socialize with them in their private lives.

Most Indians, particularly in the north, are not considered to be good or reliable workers. Many employers would not hire Indians as a policy; if and when they do, the pay is about one-quarter of that paid to white employees for the same job. The Hudson's Bay Company acquires all its white administrative staff from across Canada, often paying heavily for their travelling expenses, while it seldom hires local Indians; however, when it does, the Indians generally fill the lower echelon in pay and in position.

Politically, as Delmar A. put it, "the government decides everything." It is true that in Indian communities and on many reservations white superintendents or Indian agents no longer exist as such, but band councils still need to deal with the IAB to implement programs. On Moose Factory Island, for instance, the IAB started to install running water in the homes but ran short of funds. Many homes now have faucets but no water. The Island is also in need of some twelve street lamps but it would cost $75 to set up each lamp and $35 per month for upkeep. Again, the decision rests with the IAB. In most Indian communities, also, few Indians, if any, are on local school boards where decisions affect their children.

In the realm of religion in the northern regions all the high ecclesiastical positions are held by white people. Protestant ministers are generally English-speaking whites while the Catholic Church is made up of predominantly French-speaking priests and nuns. The influence of the Roman Catholic Church cannot be overestimated. In homes, residential schools, and even in a single isolated wigwam some ten miles up the Winisk River one sees crucifixes and holy pictures on the interior. Father J.B. Gagnon, the only priest at Winisk, speaks excellent Cree and conducts his services entirely in Cree for his community. His house, incidentally, is the only one in the village which harbors the radio equipment necessary for inter-communication with the outside world, and he is the sole operator as well. The churches are certainly very energetic, unfortunately sometimes such energy could be misdirected, as when one denomination is against another, while the Indian people who happen to have been converted by the less wealthy and less influential denomination, suffer accordingly, as in the case of the Indians in Kashechewan versus those in Fort Albany.

In short, the whole difficult situation regarding the Indian people, as Professor Dunning finds it, is conceptually simple, it all boils down to "power structure". It is the basis of discrimination against those who are poor and powerless. It is the cause and perpetuator of Indian poverty and suffering.

More Reasons for Dropping Out

Interviews with other Indian people also reveal that some of the poorer Indian children lack energy to participate in classroom activities due to ill health, insufficient sleep, or simply the lack of food. On many occasions the Indian home environment is just not conducive to studying because of noisy siblings, arguments and fights between parents who have been drinking, the absence of a desk or simply the lack of space. Children who realize themselves that they are too far behind in school work may be reluctant, indeed adamantly refuse, to return to school. Older sisters may have to stay home to mind younger siblings, or to cook and wash while the mother is absent from home for various reasons.

In the majority of the cases poverty manifests itself ostensibly in the manner of dress. Not too many mothers of six or seven children living on welfare could manage, especially in the winter time, to wash the children's clothes too often, even if they have seconds to change into.

Many Indian homes, particularly those of the squatters, are extremely substandard, and water is not an easily accessible commodity. The load of washing must be scrubbed laboriously by hand on a washboard, perhaps in the same tub of sudsy water, then rinsed in a small basin of hot water. Even when thus washed the clothes fail to look sparkling clean, not to mention the holes or patches or the fitting or styling of the clothing on the backs of some of the Indian children, who must attend school with comparatively well-dressed and well-fed non-Indians.

Registered Indians in the boarding schools are more fortunate apparelwise. However, even where good clothing is supplied by the schools, the styles and colors were already chosen for them. In some boarding schools the Indian children are allowed to pick the clothes over among the sizes ordered with the priority of choice resting with the seniors. Several Indian girls in their teens feel that they stand out like sore thumbs when attending provincial schools as they all look alike in similar jumpers, whereas the white girls can parade in the very latest fashions. These girls also complain about the lack of organized events where they could socialize with the opposite sex, and some resent the strict rules set by the boarding schools on meeting with their boy friends. It is uncertain whether strict rules on dating are a deterrent or an aggravation; the fact remains that one of the causes of drop-out for many teenaged girls is pregnancy.

Hector King from Armstrong urged that sex education be taught in the schools. He also suggested that more recreational programs be provided in town during after-school hours rather than immediately returning the students to the residence, and that at least $15 to $20 a week be given to the Indian students so that they may purchase incidentals such as cokes and hamburgers or go to a show and feel on a par with the white students who receive weekly allowances from their parents.

Actually one reason why some Indian students drop out of high school is the inability of their parents to afford such essentials as books or outfits for the gymnasium. Other factors contributing to unsuccessful schooling may include the combined and reinforcing attitudes of teachers and non-Indian peers towards the Indian student, the language barrier, the different emphasis in cultural values or habits (such as the compulsory group showers after gymnastic sessions or the wearing of dresses for girls), the lack of successful Indian models among peers or relatives in the immediate community, loneliness and homesickness among those who are away from their families, and, as mentioned earlier, the discriminatory treatment of Indians and Indian culture in history books. All these factors serve to undermine the spirit of many of the Indian children, particularly those in the north, and hinder any effort they might have made to persist in an educational system which they cannot visualize will lead them to positions now held by the white people. With the power structure as it is now, pessimism is well founded.

Parents and Grandparents

Many parents and grandparents of these children are of little or no help at all in urging the youngsters to remain in school. Indeed, Indians in general never force their opinions on others. If anything, they act as an obstacle to further education simply by not offering any encouragement. Some parents resent their children learning the worse parts of the white man's ways and thereby treating their elders with disrespect and scorning the traditional Indian way of life.

Some parents recalled stories to the children of how they had to hold dry ice for being caught speaking in their native tongue, or how severely some white teachers had beaten them for not obeying rules. Some grandparents also related stories of how little Indian children would disappear from the boarding school and later be found dead in the bush -- cause of death unknown. They would tell of how these little ones were buried and the eeriness that lingered in the woods. These stories were often told late in the quietness of the evening beside a little flickering light or a slowly dying fire. The tales were told so vividly and in such a hypnotic setting that one could never easily forget them after having much difficulty trying to sleep with these pictures on one's mind.

In concentrating on the young as a target for education, many educators neglected a very important aspect: that of educating the old. In "The Indian in Transition: Indian Education," (1964,1969) the IAB admitted that "the education budget is increasing every year. For many older Indians, unfortunately, the assistance comes too late." (p.7) This attitude that only the young are worth being educated perhaps needs to be re-examined, since parental influence, if subtle, is profound and persistent.

David Keenleyside's study (c. 1969) on education for the adult Eskimo may offer a deeper understanding of the situation regarding their Indian counterpart. Concerning the Eskimos, Mr. Keenleyside had this to say:

> The prime concern should have been for the elders of a community.... In this initial educative process the parents would conceivably have been offered the chance to participate in a comprehensive and long-range program of adaptation and liberal training (ideally in their own language at the outset). At the very minimum, they would have been gradually prepared to accept the idea of a school for their children and the reasons for it. This procedure would have gone far to avoid the present fear and suspicion with which many regard the community school, and to eliminate the painful generation gap that is tearing families and communities apart. It would by

> now have provided many a thirty- and forty-year-old Eskimo with an infinitely sharper awareness of the range and complexity of Canadian society and of the options available to him. And it would have equipped him with the skills and insight to make an intelligent and reasoned choice.

Indian parents who have been barred from the decision-making process for generations could not be expected to jump right in and to participate in programs set up by schools operated and controlled by whites at a moment's notice, even if the invitation is non-token in intent.

Bold Indians, Reluctant and Guilt-laden Whites

Tokenism is not a new development, but in its recent form, such as having an Indian person in the organization or on the board of directors to show there is no discriminatory policy towards Indians, it is a sign of changing attitudes on the part of those who function within the present power structure; it indicates a reluctance to relinquish powers which had been held in the structure for generations as well as a certain amount of distrust in the ability of the Indian people to assume autonomy. It is then not only "harmful", but as Messrs. Deiter and Currie remarked, "To give a man hope while leaving fulfillment beyond his grasp is cruel." (p.9)

The Choctaw and Cherokee Republics which successfully operated their own school systems in the nineteenth century proved that Indians were perfectly capable of running excellent educational programs for their children. History, however, has since altered the power structure drastically. What autonomy the Indian people had over their own affairs has been stripped away and now reasons do exist for the white men to suspect that the Indians lack knowledge, training and experience to take over educational responsibilities for their own communities. There is, however, no justification that the Indian people should not be given a chance; after all they are the descendants of Canada's earliest inhabitants, and it cannot be overstressed that over and above all else they are part of mankind and are entitled to the basic human rights to live in dignity.

It is perhaps unnecessary for many of the contemporary white men to become excessively guilt-laden or masochistic about this. For instance, some have urged that the Indian people, who have occupied this land before the rest of us, who have endured their forefathers' onslaught and suffered deeply in its consequences, deserve to be raised to special class and be treated as "citizens plus." This is bordering on hypocrisy, as many whites are having difficulties enough treating Indians as equals.

Nor is there a need for the contemporary Indian, as Michael Alexander (1968) pointed out: "having finally caught on to the potential benefits of playing on both sides of an ambiguous situation ... to develop a dialectic which allows him to get the most out of the situation, systematically placing the government in an embarassing situation." Attendance at almost any conference on Indian matters will attest to this accusing and demanding attitude on the part of the Indians and the silent or self-effacing submission on the part of the whites. As Mr. Alexander also pointed out at the "Indians of Canada" pavilion at Expo 67, no protest was ever made against statements accusing Canada's white forefathers of being "thieves ... iconoclasts ... troublemakers ... and other pleasantries of the same vein." Kahn-Tineta Horn from Caughnawaga threw a dead rat on the desk of a cabinet minister in Ottawa and escaped prosecution. While Messrs. Deiter and Currie avowed: "We ask for some discrimination in reverse." (p.8)

What is really needed is that we all come to the realization that the existence of the poverty-stricken Indian communities is uncalled for and unnecessary. This is a weighty problem and now is the crucial moment when mutual understanding and cooperation between Indians and whites is essential, if indeed it is everyone's wish to eliminate the unnecessary.

CONCLUSION

Today, the topic of Indian education, or for that matter any mention of the "Indian problem", is charged with a great deal of tension and emotion. Policy-makers are faced with a very complex situation and thus making the necessary decisions on the direction of change will be no easy task in the current atmosphere.

This paper has made an attempt to indicate the many difficulties which hinder the academic advancement of Indian school children, particularly in northern Ontario. Poverty has been viewed as the immediate cause of the difficulties, while the underlying cause has been traced to the power structure in which the whites dominate and control all spheres of interaction.

If Indian children are "to have every opportunity to develop and mature into full citizenship and to utilize all their inherent potentialities" as Mr. Gooderham pointed out, sincere efforts must be made to break the poverty cycle, to encourage more of the Indian people to face life positively rather than to try to escape by drinking into oblivion. Obviously, in its place there must be a positive substitute, and that for a start could be the gradual resumption of control of their own affairs. To accomplish this, the power structure as it exists now must be altered. There should be little doubt that autonomy is the ultimate answer.

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HI-SOC AND LO-SOC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Poverty Committee,
Prince Edward Island Teachers' Federation

The purpose of this report is to study the effects of poverty on the educational system. This report is the result of observations and studies made in two elementary schools. For the purpose of this report, we have given them the names of Lo-Soc School and Hi-Soc School. The former is a school comprised mainly of students from an older and less affluent area while the latter draws students from more affluent and mainly professional homes.

The committee submitting this report was appointed by the Executive of the Prince Edward Island Teachers' Federation. To assist us in our observations we chose the following:

1. a high school guidance counsellor
2. an elementary school principal
3. a high school vice-principal
4. a senior high school student.

None of these was connected in any way with the schools under study.

Because of a shortage of time and money, we were unable to follow completely the suggestions of the Canadian Teachers' Federation, but we hope the results of our observations will prove to be beneficial to the study.

BACKGROUND OF THE COMMUNITY

Lo-Soc School -- The majority of the pupils who attend this school are children of parents who belong predominantly to the working class. A number of these parents own their own homes, but many of these homes are in a run-down condition. The rented quarters, which are homes to some of these students, lack proper heat, plumbing, electrical wiring and sleeping accommodation.

The family finances are frequently provided by the father's irregular pay-cheque, unemployment cheques, welfare cheques and by mothers who are forced to work to supplement incomes.

Perhaps we should add that there are some students from the fringe area of the school boundary who come from homes where parents are in a better socio-economic position to provide for the emotional and material needs of their children.

Hi-Soc School -- The parents of the majority of students in attendance at this school are professional people. Their homes are located in a new housing development and the parents are better able to meet the needs of their children.

SCHOOL SURROUNDINGS

Lo-Soc School -- This building is a seven-year-old, two-storey structure in good repair. It is surrounded by public streets which are a constant danger to the children. This has made necessary the erection of a wire fence which immediately removes the freedom and attractiveness that should be apparent in any school. We might also note that the amount of traffic near this school is likely to increase in future.

The school has a small asphalt-covered playground which is inadequate for the children's play activities. The parking lot is also inadequate, as it provides only twelve spaces for a staff of forty people.

Hi-Soc School -- This school is also a seven-year-old building of modern design. The classrooms are on two levels and the building is situated on a four-acre lot allowing plenty of space for playground activities. There are grass-covered and asphalt-surfaced play areas and adequate facilities for parking.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE INTERIOR

Lo-Soc School -- The entrance to this school has a divided stairway and displays a poorly-cared-for tropical plant. The halls are narrow and cold with terrazzo flooring. An observer could note an atmosphere of congeniality and oneness between teachers and students. No apparent hostility was shown to the observers.

The staff room of this building is so small that only about half of the staff can assemble there at one time.

Hi-Soc School -- The entrance to the building is decorated with plants and art work which give a pleasant appearance. Within the school there seems to be an atmosphere of quiet orderliness. This school has a large, well-equipped staff room which is nicely furnished.

SCHOOL TOUR

Lo-Soc School -- The observers were conducted on a tour of the building by fifth-grade students. The library of this building is bright and attractive with adequate space for one class at a time. It seemed almost too neat and organized for the children to enjoy themselves.

The gym was once the parish community centre and is about twenty years old. It is connected to the school itself by a "breezy" breezeway. The interior is dull and extremely uninviting. The basement is equipped with televisions and projection equipment. There are many small rooms or "cubbyholes" which the teachers report as being great places for children to hide.

The music room in this school is particularly bright and cheerful, with many interesting decorations. It is obviously a room where the children are made welcome and allowed to enjoy themselves.

The art room is not quite so cheerful but it does have good facilities for creative art work. There was little evidence of the children's own work. This may have been removed and returned to individual classrooms.

All during our tour, we noticed that children are permitted to move freely in the corridors.

Hi-Soc School -- Friendly and helpful grade six students guided the observers through the school. We noticed very few people in the halls.

The school has a large, bright library and, at the time visited, several students were working on research for specific class projects. These pupils were aided by a parent volunteer who is one of a group of parents assisting in the library during the morning hours.

The gym is large, attractive and well-equipped.

There are also at this school provincial facilities for deaf and retarded children.

CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS

The report of the high school student chosen by the committee contained many of the observations made by the other observers. However, because she was more able to be empathetic with the children and was not bound by guidelines, also because her lack of professional experience meant that she had few preconceived ideas, we decided to send her report in its entirety.

PRINCIPALS' INTERVIEW

Topic	Lo-Soc School	Hi-Soc School
1. Enrolment	568	350 regular 14 deaf
2. Turnover	22%	4%
3. Attendance rate	90%	96%
4. Reasons for absence	Illness Neglect Insufficient clothing Help at home Pediculosis	Illness Family holidays
5. Teachers with degrees	3	0
6. Male teachers	6	1
7. Experience	12 years	19 years
8. Teacher turnover	Less than 10%	Very few
9. Other personnel	Full-time	Part-time
	Secretary Librarian Music teacher Male physical education teacher Female physical education teacher Crisis teacher	Secretary Librarian Music teacher Physical education teacher Health-social co-ordinator Art supervisor

Topic	Lo-Soc School	Hi-Soc School
9. Other personnel (cont'd)	Part-time	
	Health-social co-ordinator Art supervisor Violin teacher French teacher	Violin teacher French teacher
10. Personnel who visit schools	Public health nurse Dental hygienist	Public health nurse Dental hygienist
11. Organization	Levels 1-4 ungraded Grades 5 and 6 to be phased out in two years	Between graded and non-graded
12. Grouping	By reading level	Heterogeneous
13. Failure policy	Some children are still failed in grades 5 & 6 (Nongrading in first four years)	Four students were retained last year

It is the policy of this School Board not to discriminate against schools which are in poorer sections in respect to personnel and equipment.

GENERAL PHILOSOPHY OF SCHOOL

Lo-Soc School -- Respect for the individuality of the child was in evidence everywhere. It was obvious that students are respected and helped to gain self-respect. It seems that because of the difficulties encountered by the teachers and principal in dealing with children of this socio-economic background, steps were taken four years ago to overcome this difficulty by implementing new programs and new organizational patterns. The objective is a completely non-graded or continuous progress system.

Hi-Soc School -- There seems to be more orderliness and regimentation in this school. The socio-economic conditions of the students attending this school have not forced the change from the graded system; however, the teachers and community are considering changing their approach in order to enrich the curriculum for the students of this school who are more intellectually inclined.

CONCLUSION

The observers found a distinct difference between the Lo-Soc School and the Hi-Soc School in several areas. It was evident that poverty affects many of the children at the Lo-Soc School in these ways:

1. social maladjustment
2. parental neglect
3. negative attitudes towards education.

One observer noted a child in a grade 6 classroom who was unable to participate in class activities due to the disturbed condition in which he came to school that morning. The child read a story book that interested him all morning and completely isolated himself from the rest of the class. The teacher and the class accepted his activities and he was not forced to participate.

A discussion with teachers indicated that this was not an isolated case. Children frequently cannot cope with classroom activities, sports and group activities on the playground.

Teachers reported that it was quite common for children to come to school without breakfast and proper clothing because parents can't afford these or don't care enough to provide them. Children are also often tired and unkempt. Parents do not insist that children go to bed at a reasonable hour but allow them to roam the streets until after midnight.

Finances are often mismanaged in such families. These children often have a great deal of money to spend on pop and candy but do not have proper food or clothing. Also the poorer children either have new clothing or badly worn outfits but seldom wear patched or mended clothing.

These children do not seem to appreciate nice things in a classroom. It is very difficult for a teacher to train them to keep toys or equipment in proper condition. They either get stolen, broken or lost.

At the Lo-Soc School, a significant number of the children lack pre-school training. These children were given limited attention at home in the pre-school years. They often couldn't hold a crayon when they came to school. Some didn't even recognize crayons. Their speech patterns are inadequate to begin the grade 1 reading program. As a result, a pre-primary class was established at the Lo-Soc School to teach an extended reading readiness and school orientation program. After this year of pre-primary, teachers are able to recognize those who are disabled as a result of their environment.

The negative parental attitude toward education may arise from any one of a number of possible situations. One teacher related an incident where a mother reported to her that they were so worried about finances that there was little time to discuss the benefits of education with their children. Many parents, because of their own lack of education, fail to motivate their children to see the value of an education. Negative attitudes towards school were evident in a few cases at Hi-Soc School but this might be because the program is not challenging enough for these intelligent students.

From their limited observations the committee felt that the principal and staff at the Lo-Soc School are attempting, in a reasonably successful way, to alleviate the above-mentioned problems. Not only are they providing suitable programming to meet the individual needs of these children and permitting them to progress at their own rate, but they have established an interagency committee consisting of welfare agencies, mental health personnel, Canada Manpower, members of service and church organizations, as well as university students; the combined efforts of these organizations may help to alleviate some of the social conditions which prevent these children from achieving their potential in the classroom.

We did find at the Lo-Soc School that the principal and staff are sincere in their efforts to implement programs to provide the best educational opportunities for the children of this socio-economic background. It would be much easier for them to consider the situation as hopeless. This staff is to be highly commended for their work. Other schools in the same situation could obtain a great deal of encouragement from their efforts.

The remainder of this report is devoted to the observations made by the student member of the committee, Debi White, who is in grade 11 at Colonel Gray Senior High School, Charlottetown.

DEBI'S OBSERVATIONS

On January 12th I went to the Lo-Soc School. It was the first time I had ever been in the school and naturally, I went with some preconceived ideas.

The school is situated in what some have called a "deprived area". The school building itself is similar to many of the other elementary schools built around the same time, although it lacks some of the bright ornaments that others have in their main entrances.

The school yard is small and surrounded by a high wire fence. Though the fence may give the feeling of a "prison", it is very practical because of the area and the traffic. At this time of year the children enjoy the outdoor fun of a large skating rink on their grounds. They make use of the rink before and after school as well as during school gym periods and recess.

I've been told that they have tried to grow a lawn at the front of the school but all their efforts were trampled on by the children who "aren't used to a lawn and wouldn't appreciate one if they had it".

I went into the school and decided to walk around on my own. There were murals on both sides of almost every corridor. They were mostly Christmas themes but nevertheless they were there. There was also "Christmas Greetings" on the bulletin board in the main corridor.

I was shown to Mrs. X's classroom and two of her students were assigned to show me around the school.

They took me wherever they wanted to go and after a few visits to different areas of the school I found out what they liked and what they didn't. One of the first places we went was to the gym in the adjoining Community Center. A class of boys was putting on skates to go to the outdoor rink.

We started back to the school and Donnie informed me that I just had to see Mr. Y. I didn't argue, so they took me down to his class where five boys were playing "Barrel of Monkeys". There were hardly any chairs or furniture in the class, but pictures decorated the bulletin boards. One very amusing portrait of Mr. Y was taped to the front board.

Mr. Y is a "crisis" or "resource" teacher. He takes care of youngsters who, for some reason or other, cannot function in a classroom situation for very long. The children, mostly boys, are sent down to him at regular intervals or at a crisis moment. Mr. Y talks to them or just lets them play until it is decided that they should return to class.

One of the next places we visited was the art room. Here Donnie and Terry proudly showed me the small ornamental ash trays they had made the week before out of asbestos paste. They seemed to enjoy art and they did like the art teacher. The art room was the same size as a regular classroom with a sink, tables and other necessary items.

We left the art room and went upstairs. They wanted me to see the music teacher and the music room but because a class was being held, we decided to go back later. They also wanted me to see the teacher they had had last year, so we went to see her. The teacher was very nice and had a beautiful classroom with displays on current events, art and almost anything else -- all students' work. When Donnie decided to leave there he started off down to Mr. Y's room again. (It was always an alternative if we couldn't go somewhere else.)

By the time we arrived in Mr. Y's room, some of the boys had gone, some new ones had come, and some were still there. I didn't think the boys realized that I was there until Mr. Y told someone to get me a chair and I was offered almost every chair in the room.

We hiked down to the music room just in time to see the class leaving. The music teacher was very interested in what I was doing and asked me into the class. She explained all about the music course she was having and said that she worked her theory in with the singing classes, so that she doesn't bore the children. She was looking in the cupboard to show me something and she came across a parcel of mitts. She explained that some of the older sisters had knit the mitts for some of the "little ones whose hands freeze". This showed me the concern this teacher felt for the youngsters.

After we left the music room, I met Mrs. X; she relieved my escorts and took me down to the grade 3 class that I was to observe. The class was very well mannered and although they knew that I was there, I didn't disrupt anything. They greeted me with a "good morning" but after that they didn't pay too much attention to me, so I didn't feel out of place.

Mrs. Z taught her class in groups. While I was there, one group had guided reading with the teacher while the other group had an exercise to complete. This worked the other way too when Mrs. Z switched to the other group for reading. Each group seemed to be working on a different level but each was working. The group working on their own had an exercise to complete but when it was finished they were free to read, cut out, or do projects in art, etc. The atmosphere in the classroom was very free and relaxed: the children were able to help each other when needed and the teacher was always on call. When recess came all the children, except a couple of girls, put on their jackets and went outside. I was then escorted to the teachers' room for a coffee break.

The teachers' room was very small, with only a table and some chairs. There was a small kitchen area about closet size and a coat closet on one side of the room. One of the teachers informed me later that the staff room was so small that the teachers couldn't all meet in it at the same time. The teachers were very friendly to each other and most of them were very interested in what I was doing. One of the teachers commented that I should have gone to Mrs. A's class because one of her little girls had come to school that morning with no boots and very thin-soled shoes. When the other teachers heard this they were concerned and wanted to know if the child's parents knew that they could get boots at the Welfare. After a very interesting break, we went back to the class for the rest of the morning.

The children continued on their lessons; about ten minutes later one of the boys appeared back from recess. No one seemed to notice him or pay attention to him. He tried to make a fuss but the teacher told him quietly and firmly that he had been late and to behave -- he did. After awhile an announcement came over the P.A. system about a Social Science Display at one of the other schools. When the announcement was over, Mrs. Z asked the whole class if they thought they should send Annie's globe. It was a globe of the world done, I think, in papier-maché and painted so as to show the continents and oceans, etc. The class agreed so she said she would take it down. It was at this point that I really noticed all the art work and decorations around the classroom. There were mobiles, paintings, art, fish and maps.

Fifteen minutes before school was over, Mrs. Z had them all seated and, as a class, she read them a story until it was time to leave. They all listened quietly but when one of the students tried to disturb, she would stop reading until all was quiet and without scolding him she would continue. At 11:45 they all donned their coats, lined up and left the school.

During my morning at the school, I got the impression that a relaxed atmosphere prevailed, and that children enjoyed being there. I certainly enjoyed being there. When people call this a "deprived area" they certainly aren't taking the school into consideration. In no way are these youngsters deprived of anything in the way of education and consideration by their teachers.

Tuesday Morning, January 13th, Hi-Soc School

The school is one of the usual design of the newer elementary schools. It has a lovely lawn in the summer and a ground area that covers a couple of acres. It is in a very new residential section and so requires no fences, except one that divides the back part of the grounds from the nearby homes. There is a large rink on the grounds and it is used before and after school, and at recess. I didn't happen along at the right time for any of the gym classes, so I don't know if the rink was used for physical education.

I went inside and started to look around for the principal. I found her and was shown where to put my coat and boots and was asked to wait until Sister M arrived. As I waited, I looked at an art display in the hall. It was very abstract and consisted of small sculptures of noodles, spaghetti, small boxes, etc. Around the halls and rooms, as I noticed later, most of the art was very abstract, not of the mural type at all.

When Sister M arrived, we were given two escorts from grade 6 to show us the school. This school also contains two classes of the School for the Deaf and one Day Care class. Although they did not pertain to what we were doing, we both found these classes very interesting.

When we left these two areas, we went to look at the school. The corridors were very quiet, almost too quiet and we rarely saw any children out of their rooms. The girls wanted us to see their music and art rooms so we went down there.

The art room is a large room approximately the size of two classrooms. It was outfitted with sinks and cupboard space and other facilities. I asked the girls how often they had art; they replied that the regular art teacher comes about every six weeks but that they had art every week. One of the teachers commented later that she had regular art classes but that she hadn't seen the art teacher for two years.

Next we went to the music room where we sat in on a music class. The children were doing an exercise on intervals. We listened for a while, then we decided to move on. As we were going up the stairs one of the girls remarked that "music is O.K. but we don't sing much".

As we walked around waiting for recess, after which we would be taken to observe a class, I noticed how much space the school seemed to have. There was storage space for almost anything and a couple of empty areas in the school.

The girls took us to the library for a few minutes. The principal is the librarian in the afternoons only, so in the morning a committee of mothers have shifts in the library. A group of children was doing research at the time and they seemed to be enjoying themselves.

Then it was recess so we went up to the teachers' room. The teachers' room, or rooms, was an area with couches, lounging chairs, etc. In one fairly large area, we saw a counter with a sink and cupboards and two coat closets, and another room with kitchen facilities. No one seemed particularly interested in the fact that we were there; maybe it was because there were student teachers in the school at the time. I didn't feel at all comfortable, so I went down to Susan and Catherine's classroom (our two escorts) and looked around. After recess we were taken to Mrs. R's grade 6 classroom to observe.

The classroom seemed to be plagued with interruptions. They had a student teacher, Sister M and myself, and later on, Mrs. L, another interruption at the door and several P.A. announcements, but nobody seemed to notice all this, not even the teacher.

This class was also being taught in groups. The groups were not as distinct but they seemed to be on three levels. One was having a guided reading lesson while the other two were doing an exercise and getting the student teacher to check them.

The class wasn't very free or relaxed, but when the children were finished with their work, some of them disappeared behind the partial divide at the back of the class. After a while, I realized that at the back of the room they had a pile of carpet swatches that the youngsters could use as cushions to sit or lie on the floor and read. Things at the back of the room started to get a little bit rowdy, but the student teacher took charge so all went well.

At about 11:30 Mrs. R had them clear their desks and when each child was ready he laid his head on the desk. When all heads were down she started telling the pupils what had happened to her that morning concerning her dog. After she had finished she let a lot of the pupils tell about their dogs and the things they did. She gave them at least five minutes to write a paragraph on a picture she had of two bushy dogs.

After the children had left, we stayed to talk with the teacher. One of the students came back and asked about the ice sports. When he left she told us that his parents were very strict with him and had told her to be exceptionally firm with him. She disagreed and said he wouldn't be treated any differently from the other children. At the time, she said his parents were using every excuse to keep him from going to the ice sports. She didn't think this fair so she provided him with a basket for selling fudge at the ice sports.

She was very interested in doing new things and trying new teaching methods and I really enjoyed her and her class.

The school, as a whole, I found very quiet and not so free or relaxed. The children seemed very interested in everything and they did seem quite easy to discipline.

POVERTY AND ALBERTA'S NATIVE PEOPLES

Pearl Muir and John W. Chalmers

In affluent Alberta the great middle class, which enjoys the manifold bounties of the good life, is virtually blind to the fact that one family in five can barely afford the necessities of existence.

More than 130,000 Albertans live in poverty, the hard core being made up of native peoples -- Indians and Metis.

At the present time there are about 26,500 registered Indians in Alberta. Although some live in larger, non-rural centers, especially Edmonton, Calgary and Lethbridge, most of the members of the more than 40 bands reside on reserves located in all parts of the province except the southeast. About 8,500 are minors attending school.

The number of Metis attending school is not known, since they are neither registered nor identified as such in any census; but an educated guess is that their population is about equal to that of the registered Indians. Most are Cree speakers. The majority is found along and north of a line running east and west through Edmonton and large numbers reside on five Metis Rehabilitation Areas (Metis Colonies) which are virtually carbon copies of federal Indian reserves.

Ground down by poverty-stricken conditions over many years, unable to find a break-out point in the degrading cycle, the majority lives on welfare and unemployment and the culture of poverty is perpetuated from generation to generation.

For nearly a century, white people have consistently and systematically, albeit unintentionally, worked to destroy the native's self-concept, his sense of identity and worth. They have been so successful that it is common now for natives to place little value on themselves and to have little confidence that they can succeed in the white man's world. They see themselves as inferior failures, their condition as hopeless and they are estranged from the larger society in a physical and spiritual wasteland of despair.

The attitude of the dominant society to impoverished minorities is too often one of suggesting that these people are poor because they're too useless or too lazy to get out of the bed they've made for themselves.

University of Alberta Professor B. W. Wilkinson points out that in actuality, the poor are poor because of... "remedial disadvantages such as lack of education or training, lack of information about job opportunities, inability to move to known job opportunities, poor work habits and poor physical or mental health, stemming from economic deprivation."[1]

In addition to white prejudice and discriminatory attitudes displayed by the dominant society, the Indian people suffer many disadvantages arising from the structure of government:

1. The federal-provincial division of authority in dealing with native people according to whether they are Indian or Metis. Thus programs open to one group are often closed to the other because of the unwillingness or apparent inability of one government to cooperate with the other.

2. The frame of reference under which the Department of Manpower operates, specifically:

    a. Its orientation to employers, not workers. Training programs are instituted only when employers fail to find sufficient adequately trained personnel, not when workers are unsuccessful in finding jobs.

    b. Its limitation to two years in which financial assistance is given for training. Yet to take a person from illiteracy to job competence in two years is often impossible.

    c. Its requirement that support for subsistence be available for trainees only after they have been on the labour market for three years, while tuition is provided only after one year is a built-in bias against rural residents, since no training facilities are in rural areas. By and large, natives are rural residents.

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[1] B. W. Wilkinson, Commentary, The Sixth Annual Review of the Canadian Economic Policy Committee.

d. Continued centralization of Indian Affairs policy in Ottawa, despite protestations to the contrary. For example, two and a half years ago, Indian Affairs embarked on a Canada-wide policy of relocation of Indians to urban centers, on the theory that only there were there substantial chances of employment. Adherence to this policy was required in Alberta, despite the fact that, unlike other provinces, we have a viable and opportunity-rich northland. The regions of other provinces beyond the forests are dominated by mountains or the Canadian shield, but our North is almost entirely alluvial plain, abundant in metallic and non-metallic minerals, oil and gas, agricultural development, lumber, fish, and opportunities in tourism, construction, transportation and communications. There is no need to take our natives from the environment they know and love to find them employment, and attempts to do so have ended in failure.

e. At the provincial level, residents of reserves are virtually unenfranchised. Although they were recently granted the vote in provincial elections, they have little or no control over basic municipal services, including education. Despite the fact that they are citizens of Alberta and pay most provincial taxes, they do not share in the benefits accruing from the provincially-owned oil and gas reserves and resources. The provincial government accepts no responsibility for the educational, health, welfare, or many other services to reserve residents.

f. The confessional nature and other characteristics of the Indian school system have long condemned reserve residents to inferior education. Only in the last ten years has a discernible start been made on its improvement. (Metis Colony schools were little better until the establishment of Northland School Division.)

EDUCATION AS PARTIAL ANSWER

To suggest that education can be a panacea for poverty-stricken Indian and Metis communities is putting the case too strongly. But it is recognized by Indians and whites alike that education, aligned with a suitable program of economic community development, must be a major tool in crushing the icy grip of poverty.

The needs and problems in upgrading educational opportunities are well known and have been ably documented. Young Indians, as a matter of fact, are vocal in their denunciation of the millions of words and dozens of research papers that list the ills and recommend the cures -- very few of which ever seem to be implemented.

Many native spokesmen, in fact, are demanding the right to control their own education.

Harold Cardinal, in his controversial The Unjust Society, says the whole question of education must be rethought in the light of the total needs of the Indian people.[2] He is surely right in this respect. Further, we suggest that education must be rethought in light of the total needs of all people.

We must educate native youngsters to enter a new society -- but we also have to educate white children to enter a new society, for society is changing every day. There must be a difference to a degree in the education of native children as compared to that for children of the dominant culture, but, in principle, we have to start educating on the basis of this idea -- that society is constantly in a state of flux.

On the basis of the results of the education system which has been foisted upon native peoples for the past 100 years, however, the selling of modern society's most priceless commodity won't be an easy task. From this point on, in fact, it will probably be an impossible task if undertaken paternalistically by the white man; for the natives just won't buy.

If they are to be taught the value of education it will have to be done by natives themselves. High priority in the educational system, if opportunity is to be equalized for Indians and Metis, must be given over to the preparation, economic assistance and training of this corps of native "education salesmen" who must go north, into the communities of deprivation and despair, into the ghettos of the cities, and sell their product.

For the task of keeping youngsters in the classroom beyond the sixth or eighth grade cannot be accomplished if the home environment gives no support to the school program no matter how good or relevant that program might be!

Education for native peoples cannot be provided simply on the same basis as education for white members of the society. What is required for the native people is far more. Three objectives must be met:

1. Education must be such as to preserve and even exploit the values of their own culture. (What these values are has

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[2] Harold Cardinal, The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians, Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig Ltd., 1969.

yet to be determined, beyond the fundamentals such as language, and religion. Perhaps another priority should be given to finding out what additional research is required to determine those values.) This is absolutely essential to ensure that they will make their entrance into the dominant white culture from a secure base of their own and that they will have something original and distinct to contribute. Otherwise, they will enter the dominant culture naked and unprotected and would either be destroyed by it or disappear into its conforming mass.

2. Education must prepare them for a useful life in modern society, that is to say, assist them in finding a place that will give them some satisfaction and enable them to earn a living. These are basic requirements. This demands that the education be largely vocational, particularly for adults, but it must not be exclusively vocational or they will have to make their entrance into the dominant culture in a deprived state.

3. Education must give them an orientation to modern society and the dominant culture. This does not mean to imply that they should be completely assimilated. Quite the contrary. It is to give them an understanding that will enable them to become a part of the culture without being destroyed by it or converted into cogs in the machine. Like the first requirement, the third one demands non-vocational education of a very difficult kind. It actually is the kind of education we should be providing for those children indigenous to modern society. The logical corollary is that the education we propose be designed for the native people, and particularly for the young people, will be a model of the new education we should be devising for all children in this country.

Obviously, different programs will be required, on the one hand for adults whose prime need is a means of earning a livelihood and on the other the young people who will hold the future of the native people in their hands. This follows not only from different needs but from the fact that the adults will have, in all probability, much smaller capacity to gain, for instance, the orientation to the dominant white culture. However, there will be a middle group of young adults who should be highly educable and only somewhat less adaptable than the children and the adolescents. Devising somewhat different programs for different age groups, therefore, will demand a great deal of care and subtlety.

There must be a simultaneous break-in at all levels to the extent that it is possible, so that the break-in at the adult level helps the break-in at the other points -- the young adult and children levels.

To the greatest extent possible native teachers should do the teaching of their own people. Since there are few native teachers, priority should be given to developing as rapidly as possible a corps of native teachers. In developing this corps nothing like mere finances should stand in the way. It follows then that the governments will have to subsidize the education of these teachers, if necessary to one hundred per cent.

Simultaneously with education must come the means for economic development of native communities, again with involvement of Indians themselves. Walter Currie, an assistant superintendent with the Ontario Department of Education, and an Ojibwa Indian, says, "Indian organizations are trying to organize their peoples, trying to learn and hear their needs, trying to create a voice to help their peoples to be heard and recognized."[3] That voice, daily growing stronger, more unified and more strident, must be heard, and soon.

It would seem an exercise in futility for government to plan any changes in the educational training for native peoples without the active involvement, approval and participation of those people themselves.

Change must come and education is a prime and essential factor in economic growth and development.

Plato said, "Ignorance is the root of misfortune."

The Indians and Metis are the victims of ignorance.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Responsibility for social services for natives should be turned over to the provinces with guaranteed and adequate protection for Indians' rights and with adequate support from the federal government.

2. The federal government should subsidize the professional preparation of native teachers for service in native communities.

3. Studies about other societies where native and white cultures have been successfully integrated should be undertaken by the federal government.

4. Programs of study and curriculum material should be developed which will be more meaningful to the native peoples. Textbooks should be rewritten to incorporate properly the history and heritage of Indians.

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[3] Walter Currie, "The Canadian Indian Today," Toronto Education Quarterly 8:26-28, Autumn 1969.

5. Industry should be encouraged to move into the native areas and business and industry should be encouraged to adjust their operations, at least to some extent, to the work habits of natives in these areas.

6. Pre-school and adult training programs should be developed.

7. There should be greater involvement of native peoples in planning and decision-making, i.e., on advisory committees, development boards, etc.